DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 090 130 SO 007 431

AUTHOR	Panigrahi, Lalita
TITLE	The City in India. Revised Edition.
INSTITUTION	Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs, New York, N.Y.; Educational Resources Center, New Delhi (India).; New York State Education Dept., Albany. Foreign Area Materials Center.
SPONS AGENCY	Institute of International Studies (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C.
BUREAU NO	BR-0-7718
PUB DATE	Nov 73
CONTRACT	OEC-0-70-4943
NOTE	100p.; For related documents see ED073980, ED076494, and SO007430
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.75 HC-$4.20 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS	Asian History; *Asian Studies; Developing Nations; Filmstrips; Higher Education; Interdisciplinary Approach; Models; *Non Western Civilization; *Social Studies Units; Teaching Guides; Thematic Approach; Urban Areas; Urban Culture; *Urbanization; *Urban Studies; Visual Aids
IDENTIFIERS	*India

ABSTRACT

This is a guide to a series of 8mm loop films on the Indian cities of Kanchipuram, Jaisalmer (two films), Fatehpur Sikri, Chandigarh, Gwalior, Bombay, Simla, Goa, Jamshedpur, and Ahmedabad. Each four to five minute film is a source of material for self-study and for group discussion by students in introductory civilizations courses, comparative urban studies, and other courses, primarily at the undergraduate level. This unit is one of three model units (see ED073980), all dealing with India but reflecting certain basic themes in human society and using differing techniques for university-level teaching. These units, bringing innovative ideas to those interested in teaching about the Third World, suggest urbanization as a theme for historical exploration. The guide defines the concept of the city as a functioning entity and makes some suggestions for coordinating the films and the guide materials with various student activities. The guide includes an historic and economic context for each city; a bibliography on urbanization and Indian cities; a table of 1971 Indian census data; and a section called Scene Identifications, which coordinates with the filmstrips. (Author/JH)

Title VI, NDEA, Sec.602
Contract No. OEC-0-70-4943
Bureau No. 0-7718

Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs

(Formerly National Council of Associations for International Studies)

Editorial and Distribution Office
Foreign Area Materials Center
60 East 42nd Street
New York, New York 10017

THE CITY IN INDIA

A Series of 8mm Loop
Films on Indian Cities

General Editor: Ainslie Embree
Columbia University

Histories of Indian Cities by Lalita Panigrahi
Delhi University Women's College

Photography by Marco Guimaraes

Film Editing by Edna Paul

A cooperative undertaking of the Foreign Area Materials Center, New York City, and the Educational Resources Center, New Delhi, India, assisted by the Government of India Department of Tourism and the Institute of International Studies of the U.S. Office of Education

Foreign Area Materials Center
University of the State of New York
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
and
Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs
Revised Edition
November 1973

THE CITY IN INDIA

Note

This is a guide to a series of 8mm loop films on the following Indian cities:

1. Kanchipuram
2. Jaisalmer (Film 1)
3. Jaisalmer (Film 2)
4. Fatehpur Sikri
5. Chandigarh
6. Gwalior
7. Bombay
8. Simla
9. Goa
10. Jamshedpur
11. Ahmedabad

Each film, which runs 4 to 5 minutes, is intended to be a source of material for self-study and for group discussion by students in introductory Asian Civilizations, Indian Civilization, Comparative Urban Studies, and other courses, primarily at the undergraduate level.

Information about the availability of the films is available from the Foreign Area Materials Center, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

This set of learning resources was produced in connection with a project supported by the Institute of International Studies of the U.S. Office of Education. Institutions and individuals involved in such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to develop the project in terms of their own professional judgment. Points of view expressed do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

CONTENTS

Foreword.....i

Introduction.....1

Approaches to Discussion and Further Study.....7

Histories of Cities.....10

Kanchipuram.....10
Jaisalmer.....16
Fatehpur Sikri.....25
Chandigarh.....30
Gwalior.....37
Bombay.....42
Simla.....50
Goa.....55
Jamshedpur.....61
Ahmedabad.....68

Bibliography.....76

1971 Census Data.....81

Scene Identifications.....82

FOREWORD

One of the fashions of the times in North American academia these days is espousal of the cause of innovation. That there should be such widespread enthusiasm for "innovative" change in American colleges and universities is perhaps understandable when one reflects upon the capacity of these institutional transplants from medieval Europe to resist meaningful and significant change. Like motherhood and the flag, furthermore, it is easy to be in favor of innovation because it has obviously desirable qualities, such as freshness, challenge, stimulation, and creativity, and it is impossible to define in any operationally meaningful way. Innovation means literally anything new. This simply begs the question, for what may be new in one place is "old hat" in another.

Notwithstanding these definitional problems and institutional limitations, it is clear that there is innovation in American colleges and universities--or at least that change does occur on college and university campuses and in college and university classrooms. It is also now clear to us that much of what is generally regarded as "innovative" in college and university teaching has occurred in those subject matter areas which constitute the traditional core of higher education in American society, at least as far as the social science and humanistic disciplines are concerned. I refer to the conventional and longstanding preoccupation with the historical evolution of Western civilization and its more recent development on the North American

continent. Those whose intellectual interests take them beyond the historical and geographical confines of Western civilization to a concern with the heritage and contemporary condition of the majority of mankind who occupy the Third World of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, are all too little identified with or touched by "innovative" ideas and practices.

With this concern as a working hypothesis, the Foreign Area Materials Center and its organizational sponsors (the Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs and the New York State Education Department's Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies) sought support from the Institute of International Studies at the U.S. Office of Education for a project to explore more fully the extent to which "innovative" ideas and practices have in fact penetrated Asian, African, and other Third World studies, and to stimulate interest in more creative or imaginative approaches to the study of the societies and traditions of these regions of the world so long neglected by our colleges and universities. While we believe that our working hypothesis has been confirmed by this exploration, we have also found a number of individuals and institutions experimenting with what would be regarded, at least in some circles, as "innovative" approaches to the study of Asia, Africa, and other parts of the Third World. What we have discovered is described in a publication of the Foreign Area Materials Center, "Students, Teachers, and the Third World in the American College Curriculum: A Guide and Commentary on Innovative Approaches in Undergraduate Education" (FAMC Occa-

sional Publication No. 19, New York: University of the State of New York and Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs, 1972).

The other principal objective of this project is to encourage more interest in imaginative approaches to the study of the Third World. We are attempting to do this in several ways, including widespread dissemination of the "Guide" just mentioned and a series of conferences for teachers and students. The first was a national conference held at the Johnson Foundation Conference Center in Racine, Wisconsin on "The Third World and the American College Student in the 1970's: Opportunities for Innovation in Undergraduate Education," followed by regional conferences organized by member associations of CISP. In addition, we have sought to stimulate interest in more creative approaches to the study of Asian and African societies and traditions through the development of three "model units" such as this one.

This unit looks at the evolution of Indian civilization through its cities, based on a series of 8 mm. loop films. A previous unit, "Kishan Garhi Village: A Generation of Change," prepared by Professor McKim Marriott of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Chicago, deals with the process of rural social change and the interaction of technology, society, and culture. A third unit involves preparation of an Indian urban problem-solving exercise revolving around the basic requirements of "space" and "shelter" in an urban environment.

These three "model units" were selected for development as a part of the Office of Education-supported project because they encompass some basic themes in human society of a global nature. Thus they are concerned with the impact of technology on society, the process of urbanization in contemporary society, which is a universal phenomenon and not one confined to the industrially advanced countries of the Northern Hemisphere, and urbanization as a historical process--or, as an alternative way of looking at the matter, the historical development of a major world civilization, using urban phenomena as guideposts in analyzing social change over long periods of time.

While all three "model units" deal with certain basic themes in human society and will, we hope, be suggestive of ways in which similar approaches might be developed in studying other societies or other periods of human history, they also reflect differing ideas or practices which are being more and more widely used in college and university teaching. Two of the three "model units" involve use of visual materials, until recently a relative rarity in college or university classrooms. This "model unit" on the city in India, furthermore, involves use of 8 mm. loop films, a visual medium still relatively unknown in colleges and universities in the social sciences and humanities, although widely used in elementary and secondary schools and in the teaching of the natural sciences.

The urban problem-solving exercise is based upon active participation of students in a simulated situation, reflecting the

growing interest in games and simulations as a new mode of college teaching which once again is far more widely used at the secondary school level. And all three "model units" are susceptible to use through the "inquiry method," which relies on active participation of students in developing their own hypotheses and generalizations rather than deriving them from the lectures of the professor and the textbooks he assigns. This mode of learning appears to achieve a deeper and more lasting understanding on the part of students than more conventional educational approaches which are based on the proposition that the teacher instructs and the student absorbs whatever wisdom the teacher has to offer.

Each of these "model units" deals with a specific society and civilization. We have chosen India as the substantive focus of these "model units," partly because of its intrinsic importance historically and in contemporary terms, and partly because of the potentially rich range of resources available for fashioning these kinds of "model units." But as we have suggested, the themes with which these "model units" deal are not in any sense confined to India or, indeed, to the Third World, but are truly global in character. Consequently, we hope that the preparation of these model units will help to stimulate and inspire other college and university teachers to develop their own "model units," drawing upon some of these ideas, but certainly also incorporating their own ideas and knowledge of other societies and traditions.

It is in this spirit that we make bold to offer "model units" of any sort to college and university teachers and students. College professors have been traditionally resistant to the notion that anyone other than themselves is capable of "packaging" units of curriculum material for use in their own classrooms. This is based on the proposition that college and university teachers should be active and productive scholars and that the process of creative scholarship leads naturally to creative teaching based upon the individual professor's own scholarly pursuits. While it is by no means clear just how widespread in fact this proposition is, we seek not to challenge it through the preparation of these "model units." Our primary objective is in stimulating college and university teachers to develop their own "model units," whether they be inspired by these "model units" or by creative ideas independently arrived at.

We owe an obvious debt of gratitude to Ainslie Embree for allowing us to take advantage of his knowledge of Indian history and his interest in new approaches to teaching about the subcontinent. The original idea for this "model unit" was his and despite many other demanding and important claims on his time, he was always available for counsel and guidance. Special thanks are due to the Department of Tourism of the Government of India and the staff of the Government of India Tourist Office in New York City for the invaluable assistance they provided to the project on location in India and in its initiation and completion

in New York City. Marco Guimaraes, who produced the films, deserves special mention, not only for his skill and sensitivity, but also for his patience over the many delays before the project actually got underway. Finally, without the remarkable tact and efficiency of Mrs. Sharada Nayak of the Educational Resources Center in Delhi, this project might not have been possible.

As in all other activities of the Foreign Area Materials Center, Edith Ehrman, manager of the FAMC, and Kathleen Hale, editorial assistant at FAMC, have played a key role. Financial support for preparation of this unit has come from several sources, including the Educational Resources Center, the Department of Tourism, the Regents Research Fund of the University of the State of New York, and the U.S. Office of Education's Institute of International Studies. I should like to acknowledge with thanks the help received from these various sources and especially the Institute of International Studies, which has provided assistance for the entire project of which this "model unit" is a part.

Ward Morehouse
Director, Center for International Programs and Comparative Studies, State Education Department, University of the State of New York

President,
Council for Intercultural Studies and Programs

New York
June, 1972

INTRODUCTION

What is a city? What function does it have in society? Why have cities symbolized the greatness, and, at times, the degredation of civilizations and cultures? Why do certain cities of the past - Athens, Jerusalem, Rome - continue to fascinate the imagination? One answer to all these questions was given by Lewis Mumford, the American scholar who has written with great passion and learning on what cities have been in the past, what they are now, and what they may become, for good or ill, in the future. In one of his most widely read books, "The Culture of Cities," Mumford wrote:

> The city, as one finds it in history, is the point of maximum concentration for the power and culture of a community. It is the place where the diffused rays of many separate beams of life fall into focus, with gains in both social effectiveness and significance. The city is the form and symbol of an integrated social relationship: it is the seat of the temple, the market, the hall of justice, the academy of learning. Here in the city the goods of civilization are multiplied and manifolded; here is where human experience is transformed into viable signs, symbols, patterns of conduct, systems of order. Here is where the issues of civilization are focused: here, too, ritual passes on occasion into the active drama of a fully differentiated and self-conscious society. (Lewis Mumford, "The Culture of Cities," N.Y.: Harcourt Brace, 1938, p.3).

In the city, everything comes together: the best and the worst, the richest and the poorest, the wisest and the most foolish. For some, the city and all that it stands for has been a vision of hell, "the city of dreadful night"; for others, the city is the image for the goal of man's spiritual striving, "The City of God."

More than ever in history, we now know that man's fate, the quality of human life, is linked with the city, not just New York and Calcutta and Shanghai, but the smaller cities as well, whose anonymity

to the rest of the world is no measure of their meaning to the people who live in them.

The films in this series are presented with the conviction that knowing something about a nation's cities is a way to understanding of its culture and history. It is not, of course, the only way, or even perhaps the best way. Religion, literature, art are indispensable elements in any great civilization; so are agriculture, industry, and means of transportation. We argue, however, that a glimpse of city life, even a fleeting one, gives a student a sense of what it means to live within a culture.

In these short films on selected Indian cities, the emphasis is always on the city as a city, not on the great monuments of the past nor on scenic beauty. India is a peculiarly photogenic country - it is easy to get pictures of elegance and beauty, of the Taj Mahal by moonlight, of the Lake Palace at Udaipur, of the splendors of the Republic Day processions in Delhi. It is equally easy to gather the other kind of striking image - the brutal misery of the hut dwellers outside Bombay, the poverty of a Rajasthan village, the children begging in Calcutta. But what our photographer tried to do was something much more difficult: to show the unique character of each selected city, and above all, to show why it is a city. This is often quite apparent - a harbor, a river - but sometimes it is not. Sometimes it is because the city serves a particular function - it grew up around a famous pilgrimage place or it is the center for a local industry. Most cities have, of course, many functions, but, by and large, the reason for their origin and location is fairly evident.

The cities included here give an idea of the diversity that exists in India and yet show that there is an Indian life style which exists in all parts of the country. They also illustrate different reasons why cities are established and how they change over the ages.

The selection of the 10 cities in this unit was based on a number of factors. First and most importantly, the city had to reveal clearly the point we were trying to bring out. Agra, for example, was founded by the Mughals as an imperial administrative center, but, except for the Taj Mahal, it is not today an evidently planned Mughal city and very few traces of the Mughal court survive. Second, we sought to reveal something of the diversity of India's past and present by selecting cities with a distinctive and contrasting style and raison d'etre. Third, it was felt that it would be more useful to film some of the lesser known and smaller cities, rather than those such as Benares, Delhi, and Jaipur on which more material is already available. Finally, the feasibility of actually making the film had to be considered; at the time the project was planned, it was simply not possible to film in certain areas.

Based on these criteria, the following cities were selected: Temple Cities. Around great temples, cities grew up, their essential purpose being to serve the pilgrims and the large numbers of priests and attendants attached to the temples. There are two kinds of temple cities: those such as Madurai and Srirangam dominated by one great temple, and those with many temples where the sanctity and interest is not resident in a temple but in the geographic location itself. Kanchipuram in Tamilnadu is perhaps the most striking of such cities in

terms of the size and beauty of the temples. It is one of the oldest cities and one of the seven sacred cities of India. Its silk sari industry is related to its function as a great pilgrim center.

Medieval Cities. India has very few medieval cities of the kind found in Europe. While the temples are old, the other buildings are often modern, and the cities themselves have changed constantly, reflecting the needs of their inhabitants. Quite different in character are the few cities surviving from what can be thought of as the "medieval" period - before the impact of the Western world, or, to some extent, of the Muslims. Jaisalmer is a walled city in the western deserts of Rajasthan. It owed its importance to its location on the caravan routes from North India to the coast and Sind, and was a center of both trade and defense. It was also a refuge for religious groups, particularly the Jains.

Planned Cities. Planned cities to serve administrative needs date from different periods. Fatehpur Sikri was a planned Mughal city. While there are many palaces, little remains of the actual city. Mughal administrative centers were, however, essentially royal courts - permanent military encampments. Chandigarh, on the other hand, is a planned 20th century administrative city built by one of the great Western architects of the 20th century. Careful consideration has been given to areas where people work, live, shop, and play.

Fortified Cities. India is a land of great forts, but there were also cities which were fortified. These differ from the forts which were meant to serve as places of refuge or defense, not for continuous living. They also differ from the Red Fort of Delhi, which was not a

fort in the conventional sense, but a royal enclosure. Gwalior provides an interesting contrast between the past and present. The city itself is a great medieval fortress, guarding north-south roads and controlling the surrounding countryside. Below it is the modern city, Lashkar, once a market town, but now a busy manufacturing city.

19th Century Commercial Cities. Although actually founded in the 17th century, the three greatest cities of India, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, are almost wholly products of the 19th century. Bombay served no function in the Indian economy before the 18th century. Change came about through Western contacts and its importance as a great trading city, opening up the hinterlands of the area. It has continued to grow in importance, and is now one of the largest cities of the world.

Hill Station. In the 19th century, the British used hill stations as a summer refuge from the heat of the plains. Simla was the summer capital of British India. It has now taken on new life as a summer resort for the Indian middle class on vacation.

The non-British European City. Goa was the product of a deliberate attempt to transplant Western culture (which, for the Portuguese, preeminently included religion) to India. The urban social structure of Goa contrasts sharply with other Indian cities. In the great cities that grew up in British India, life tended to be dominated by Indian business interests and, to some extent, by a visible separation of Indian and Western life. In Goa, there was no such separation. The Portuguese and Indians lived intermixed and intertwined in a way that was quite different.

Modern Industrial Town. Jamshedpur, while unique, is a prototype of many other modern industrial towns. It was built for the Tata Iron and Steel Company and is completely a "company town." It is also the only company town in India built entirely through private enterprise, as opposed to the industrial townships established by the government.

A Pre-Modern Commercial City. Ahmedabad is unique among Indian cities in that it was an important city in pre-modern times, and remained one during the 19th century. Its modernization and industrialization are not directly related, as is that of Bombay, to the establishment of Western political power. Ahmedabad's ties with Gandhi and the Indian independence movement also give it a special place in modern Indian history.

In looking at pictures of these Indian cities or, indeed, most cities anywhere, it may not always be easy to see what Lewis Mumford saw - the places "where the diffused rays of many separate beams of life fall into focus." But if one looks carefully, and if one uses imagination informed by some knowledge of the past, then it is possible to see them as a summing up of the life of a civilization.

APPROACHES TO DISCUSSION AND FURTHER STUDY

As the above descriptions suggest, cities exist for a number of different reasons. That is, they have very often, although not always, a special geographic reason for existing. Second, they have an economic reason which may or may not be combined with a religious or political reason. One could well ask: What is the significance of these cities for the life of India? What function does this city serve? Why is it here and not somewhere else? What is distinctive about it (as a city, not in terms of special sites, etc.)? How do the ways people make their living relate to the city's central purpose? Relate this city to the basic question: Why do people live in cities and towns? Is city life somehow qualitatively different from rural life? Why have cities been the centers of culture, religion, politics? Why do artists prefer cities? What are those features of city life that make them attractive to different groups: to the poor, to the rich, to the young, to the old? Is there a basic difference between a "modern" city and a premodern one in terms of function, lifestyle, etc.? What does each city say about India, its history, its culture, its way of life?

What are the differences, or similarities, in life styles between these cities? Can comparisons be made between these cities and cities in other countries? For example, both Fatehpur Sikri and Nara, Japan are former capitals now reduced to tourist attractions. What is different, or similar about the planning in Chandigarh and that in

Reston, Virginia? Do life styles and historical traditions influence city life?

Despite their differences in location, age, and size, there are definite similarities in all of these cities. In general, the wide variety of types of transportation, the small bazaar shops, and the mixture of pedestrians and livestock on busy streets are common to most Indian cities, from the oldest to the most modern. The method of carrying merchandise is also very similar. (Who ever has proved that two hands are better than one head?) Other similarities which show that these are Indian cities rather than cities in another part of the world can also be noted. It might be a useful exercise to take one aspect such as handicrafts, transportation, or style of dress, and compare it in some of the cities.

The short chapters on each city which follow this section place them in their historical and economic context. Experience to date has shown that it is advisable to read the material before looking at the films. An alternative approach might be to show one or two cities and ask students to determine what kind of cities they are and why they exist in a particular location. For example, it is quite obvious that Jamshedpur is an industrial city, and the red soil shown in the film indicates the presence of iron ore, necessary for making steel. In addition, there are rivers which can transport finished products and raw materials. Similarly, Simla is located in the mountains, a cool area in which to escape the heat of summer in other parts of India.

On the assumption that "one picture is worth 1,000 words," these films provide an overview of what life is like in cities of various

sizes located in different parts of India. For this reason, some or all of the films could be used in introductory Asian civilizations, Indian civilization, and urban studies courses.

Another possibility would be to use one or two films as an independent study course in which the student would look at the films, read the material presented here and in additional sources, and make a study of some aspect of city life. A similar approach might be to have a student or a group of students produce a sound track for a film, or two or three films, based on their research and reading, and present the film with narration to the class. The bibliographic material at the end of this booklet lists some sources of information, although very little has been done to date on Indian cities as such. The bibliography is divided into three categories: material on cities and urbanization in general, material on Indian cities in general, and, where available, materials specifically on the 10 cities included in this series of films.

KANCHIPURAM

Kanchipuram, situated in the Chingleput district in Tamilnadu about 47 miles west-southwest of Madras, is a "second-class municipal town." It has a population of 110,657 according to the census of 1971. Once a great and flourishing city and capital of an empire, today it is known only for its exquisite saris and its ancient temples.

The origin and early history of the city are shrouded in mystery, but there is no doubt that the city is of great antiquity. Kanchipuram is referred to in early Tamil literature and inscriptions as Kacci, Kaccipada, Kanci, Kancipar, Kancimanager, and Kancipuram. Kanci means a place where one received supreme bliss, with Ka meaning Brahma (God) and anci meaning worship. This etymology suggests that the city has had a special place in religious history. Hiuen Tsang, the famous Buddhist pilgrim from China, wrote that Ashoka built a Buddhist monastery in Kanchipuram which was a rendezvous for the most eminent men of the country.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, Kanchipuram was the capital of the great Pallava dynasty for nearly 6 centuries, beginning from 200 A.D. The Pallavas were known for their creativity; their rule witnessed a great renaissance in the fields of religion, arts, literature, philosophy, and architecture. Kanchipuram became the center of literary and artistic activity in South India. The foundation of South Indian arts and architecture was laid in Kanchipuram in the 7th century. The Pallavas immortalized themselves by

building rock-cut temples in this city, the chief among these being the Kailashnath and Vaikuntha Perumal temples and those of Ekambaranath and Vardaraja. A series of temples extending over a long period exist at Kanchipuram. They show the development of the Dravidian style of temple architecture from its origin under the Pallavas in the 6th century to its culmination at Vijayanagar during the 15th and 16th centuries.

In the later period (900-1150) when the Cholas ruled over the region, it continued to be a place of pre-eminence, being the second capital. The Pandyas (1100-1350) and the Vijayanagar rulers (1340-1565) also contributed towards its prosperity, although it was no longer a capital city.

Kanchipuram and its scholars and poets created a volume of devotional literature and advanced philosophic speculation. Bharavi and Dandin, renowned scholars and poets, adorned the Pallava court. Dharmapala, the great commentator of Nalanda University, came from Kanchipuram. He was a contemporary of the celebrated Buddhaghosa of the 5th century, whose association with the Pallavas of Kanchipuram is well known. Their contributions made Kanchipuram sacred to the Saivites as well as the Vaisnavites.

Kanchipuram is one of the most sacred cities of India. Its sanctity is equal to that of Ayodhya, Mathura, Benaras, Avanti, Hardwar, and Dwarka, all cities either in the north or in the west. Kanchipuram is the only city of the south which was considered as sacred as the six great northern pilgrim centers. Like Bhuvaneswar in Orissa and Khajuraho in central India, or Benaras in Uttar Pradesh, it

is a city of temples. There are said to be 184 temples in Kanchipuram, and there are over a hundred major festivals celebrated in them each year. More than two million pilgrims crowd into Kanchipuram each year to attend them.

The temple, apart from being a place of worship, was a great social institution, with activities which touched the lives of the people at many points. It was a center of learning, for schools and colleges were located in its precincts. Kings and wealthy devotees of the gods made generous gifts of land to the temple with the result that the endowments became immensely valuable. Kings came to the temples to offer worship and celebrate their coronations; the temple became a seat of aristocratic life. However, all classes of people came to worship, except the untouchables, who were barred from the great temples lest they pollute them.

Kanchipuram temples attracted scholars from all over India. The great philosopher-saint Sankara established a monastery to propagate his philosophy of Advaita. Ramanuja preached his philosophy of Vedanta at the Vaishnavite temples. The temples, therefore, became centers for learned discourses and debates. Since various sects congregated around temples of different denominations, sometimes the religious controversies tended to be acrimonious. Ramanuja himself had to leave Kanchipuram towards the end of his career. The temples were also seats of music and the fine arts. At various periods of decline in the level of culture, however, these became also centers of lust, corruption, and intrigue. The sacred and the profane were juxtaposed in temple life.

The temple festivals were sometimes celebrated with unsurpassed grandeur. This was true of the Sri Vardarajaswami Temple, a Vaisnavite temple. Similarly, large crowds congregated at the Saivite festivals of the temples of Goddess Kamakshi (wife of Lord Shiva) and of Lord Ekanbraswarar (Lord Shiva). During these festivities various types of entertainments were organized.

The decline of Kanchipuram can be traced to the period of the Nayakas of Madura (1600-1700) when the center of political gravity shifted to the south at Madurai. The Vijayanagar kingdom too had its base in the western side of the Deccan. That Kanchipuram did not completely lose its position was due to its great temples and its famous cotton and silk goods. In excellence, in richness of color, and texture, only the Benaras silk saris can match those of Kanchipuram.

There is no record to show the approximate date of the origin of the silk weaving industry in Kanchipuram, but there is no doubt that the industry is as old as the cotton weaving industry of the region. The epic poems of Tamil literature, which were written in the second century A.D., mention the weavers who wove excellent fabrics out of cotton, silk, and wool. It appears that a particular caste of weavers, the Saliyars, controlled the silk weaving in those days. When the maritime city of Kaveripoomapattinam, known for silk weaving, was submerged by the sea, some of the Saliyars moved to Kanchipuram. Another explanation for the concentration of silk weaving industry at Kanchipuram is supplied by the sericultural experts who found that the water of Kanchipuram had a unique quality, imparting lustre to raw

silk, which is imported from Bangalore. The gold lace required for the borders of saris comes from Surat.

The lucrative silk weaving industry declined in the 18th and 19th centuries because of competition from machine-made cloth. There were 5,290 silk looms in 1899, but by 1921, only 2,406. Since 1961, the silk industry has begun showing a spurt of activity, mainly as a result of government patronage. Weavers' cooperatives have been formed and the government has set up a Silk Centre: Tamilnad Savodaya Sangh Silk Centre. There are now nearly 20,000 cotton looms and 6,500 silk looms.

The silk saris produced at Kanchipuram are mostly sold in South India, 70 to 75 percent within Madras State, but in recent years they have found markets in Bombay, Delhi, and Calcutta because of their quality and their cheapness as compared with the Benaras or Bengal silk saris.

Of all looms, 70 percent are controlled by the master weavers. Cooperatives were set up to provide assistance to weavers and to help in marketing their products. The Kanchipuram Silk Weavers' Co-operative Production and Sale Society Ltd. was started in 1942. In March 1955, a Silk Weavers Co-operative Society was started, followed by a Silk Weavers Society in March 1957. The All India Handloom Board of the Government of India provides assistance to these cooperatives in the form of loans, free service of departmental offices, and a subsidy to meet the cost of the designs during the first year of inception. The Government Silk Centre was started in May 1958, followed by the Tamilnad Sarvodaya Sangh in 1959. In spite of this assistance, the

plight of many of the small, independent weavers is pitiable. The master weavers present a united front, and, as they know most of the buyers in Kanchipuram and Madras City, they can sell their goods quickly. Their financial resources are also sound. The small weaver has neither adequate financial backing nor active looms at his command. He is not able to pay money to the designers and therefore constantly produces old-fashioned saris for which there is not a steady demand. Many independent weavers have been forced to work for wages for the master weavers.

More than most Indian cities, Kanchipuram has retained much of the past, with its great temples dominating the busy streets.

JAISALMER

The walled city of Jaisalmer, with a population of 16,578, is located in the heart of Thar, or the Great Indian Desert, the vast, barren region that stretches from Punjab in the North to the Rann of Cutch in the South. The border between India and Pakistan runs through the center of the Desert. Few cities anywhere in the world have a more isolated, unpromising site, and its existence should be understood in terms of the human needs of adjusting to the harsh surrounding environment. As one traveller remarked, it is a splendid testimony to the resourcefulness and resilience of the human spirit. Through the centuries, it has served three main functions: as a refuge for groups and individuals fleeing from enemies; as a market town for the desert dwellers of the area; and as a way station, or resting place, for the caravans of traders making their way across the desert from the coast to the interior of northern India. That Jaisalmer could serve these purposes is explained by the fact that while the region immediately surrounding it appears to be like the rest of the Great Desert, it has important differences. The Great Desert is a sea of shifting sand, almost wholly barren of vegetation, and without any perennial rivers or streams. It would seem as one travels through this region that it would be utterly barren of human habitation of any kind. Yet men have wrested a painful existence from the desert, and, to the desert people, the area around Jaisalmer appeared by contrast relatively fertile and well watered. An ancient legend indicates how the presence of a spring of water in the area made it a special place

as an oasis in the desert wastes. According to the legend, in the Silver Age, millions of years before our present age, a famous holy man had discovered a small spring in the desert and established his hermitage beside it. Then one day Krishna, the great deity, came to visit the holy man, and when he found that the water from the spring had a salty taste (as does much of the water in the area), he struck the ground with his weapon, the discus. A spring of sweet water bubbled from the ground. At the same time, Krishna prophesied that one day a descendent of his would come there and build a city.

In actual fact, there is now no stream in Jaisalmer of the kind the legend describes, although it is possible that there was one in earlier times. What does exist in the Jaisalmer region, in contrast to other areas, are catchment basins formed by low ranges of hills which hold some of the meager rainfall of the area for a short period. The Jaisalmer area also receives slightly more rain than the rest of the desert, with the average rainfall being about 6 inches a year, but in some years as much as 15 inches have been recorded. These amounts seem negligible, but some areas of the desert receive virtually no rain. The rocky outcroppings and ranges of hills also prevent the soil blowing as much as it does elsewhere. The result is that crops of coarse food grains such as sorghum and pulses can be grown. The rainfall is also sufficient to provide fodder for camels, cattle, sheep, and goats, and these animals are the basis of the livelihood of the population. Jaisalmer has long been the market town for the peoples who have come to terms with the desert. Salt was one of the most important commodities sold in the markets of Jaisalmer. Through the

years, it was made from brine found close to the desert surface where water and salt deposits have mixed. Since in the 19th century the Government of India acquired a monopoly on all salt manufactured in India, only enough to satisfy local needs could be produced. Limestone is also quarried near the city, providing the yellow stone used for most of the buildings. The city has also been, for centuries, the market place for one of the few manufactured goods - coarse cloth made from camels' and goats' hair.

But what makes Jaisalmer memorable among the cities of India, and provides such a startling contrast to the barren, empty countryside, is the existence in the heart of the desert of not just a market town, but a great walled city with a magnificent fort, palaces, and wealthy temples. These reflect the city's function as a place of refuge and security for its ruling dynasty and for traders.

The history of the city begins in 1156 A.D. although the chronicles of the rulers trace the origin of the family back to remotest antiquity. The rulers were Rajputs, members of the clans that governed most of North India before the invasion by the Turks from Central Asia in the 12th century. The area now known as Rajasthan was the Rajput homeland, but through the centuries they had established kingdoms far beyond this region. The chiefs of the Rajputs, indicating their pride in their lineage and their sense that they were given a special mandate to rule, traced their ancestry to the gods. They gloried in their traditions as fearless warriors and lived by a chivalric code that emphasized that the duty of a ruler was to fight

and to die rather than ever surrender to a foe. One of these Rajput tribes, the Bhatias, became rulers of Jaisalmer.

According to their chronicles, the Bhatia Rajputs had originally left Rajasthan and founded a kingdom in what is now Afghanistan. They were driven from there and then founded a kingdom in the Punjab. In the course of time, the Bhatias were also driven out of this kingdom, and they moved southwards to the Indian Desert. There the chief of the clan, Jaisal, in 1156 founded the fortress city of Jaisalmer. According to the chronicles, when Jaisal had reached the area, he found a hermit on top of a rocky ridge who told him the story of Krishna having been responsible for the spring of sweet water. Since Jaisal's family claimed descent from Krishna, this seemed a good omen, and the hermit pointed out to Jaisal verses that Krishna had inscribed on the wall of the spring. These prophesied that a prince of Krishna's family, named Jaisal, would one day come into this land and erect a castle on the mountain top. The story is no doubt a legend, made up to give legitimacy to the dynasty, but in later centuries, when the Bhatia Rajputs were driven out of their city, it served as a powerful reminder to them and to their people of their claim to Jaisalmer.

The history of Jaisalmer and its rulers in succeeding centuries follows the pattern of other parts of Rajasthan. The Rajput chieftans fought each other, but the great threat to their traditional way of life came from the Turks, who had gained control of Punjab and the areas surrounding Delhi at the end of the 12th century. Although Jaisalmer retained its independence because of its remoteness, it was a source of trouble for the Delhi Sultans since it owed its importance

partly to the fact that it was on the routes that ran from the coast and the Indus valley to Delhi. The Jaisalmer ruler would attack the Sultan's caravans as they passed through the desert. It was after one such raid, when treasure for the Sultan carried by 1,500 horses and 1,500 mules was captured and taken to Jaisalmer, that the Delhi Sultan, Aluddin, decided to destroy the power of the Bhatia Rajputs. The city was beseiged, and when it was clear that it would fall to the Sultan's forces, two actions characteristic of the the Rajputs' chivalric code were carried out. First, all Rajput women were put to death or committed suicide by leaping into a great fire, in order not to fall into the hands of the Muslim conquerors. The chronicles say that 24,000 women died. "Blood flowed in torrents, while the smoke of the pyre ascended to the heavens; not one feared to die...not the worth of a straw was preserved for the foe." (Tod, Annals of Rajasthan, p. 1214). Then the warriors opened the gates of the city and rushed out to the enemy camp, where after a fierce battle all of the Rajputs were slain. The Sultan blocked up the gates of the fort, and for many years Jaisalmer was abandoned by its Rajput rulers. The city itself survived, however, and eventually the rulers returned to it, and in the middle of the 17th century Jaisalmer became a feudatory of the great Mughal Empire. With the decline of the Mughal Empire in the early years of the 18th century, Jaisalmer once more became the capital of an independent state. Early in the 19th century, however, all the states of Rajasthan signed treaties with the British, who had established their power in India by this time. By these treaties the rulers gave up all control over their relations with other states,

including the right to make war, in return for a guarantee of their internal power and the continuance of their dynasties. Jaisalmer signed such a treaty in 1818, and for over a hundred years remained isolated from the rest of India. For a long time, however, it remained an important stopping place for caravans across the desert, with most of the rulers' income coming from transit dues. The city enjoyed considerable prosperity in the early 19th century because of the opium trade between India and China. After the British took control of Bengal, all the sales of opium for the China market were supposed to be a government monopoly. Since the new government was not in control of the internal affairs of the princely states, a great deal of opium was grown in the states of Central India. This opium was shipped across the desert to ports on the west coast to avoid British taxes. Jaisalmer profited from this trade, as the caravans carrying it passed through the area. Before the trade was finally suppressed, many of the merchants of Jaisalmer had made great fortunes which they used to build some of the mansions that still stand in the city.

The fortifications, the street plans, the buildings of Jaisalmer all stand witness to its functions as a place of refuge, a market center, a way station for caravans, and the capital of a ruler. The city appears to rise abruptly out of the surrounding desert, and all travellers remark how spectacular it seems against the emptiness of the harsh countryside. The city is built at the end of a low range of hills, and it is surrounded by a wall 3 miles long, 10 to 15 feet high, and 5 feet thick. There are two entrances to the city, one on

the west side, one on the east, so that the caravans could move through on their journeys across the desert. A wide road connects the two gates, and leading from it are many very narrow alleys. The finest houses are on these alleys. The explanation given is that when the rich people built their houses they encroached on the public roads. This may be true, but one suspects that another reason is that narrow roads provide more privacy - people travel along them only if they live there. They are also probably safer - they can be defended against robbers. In any case, since there was almost no wheeled traffic when they were built, there was little need for wide streets, except for the main market. One of the finest of these houses is called Patuwa-ki-Haveli, and belonged to a family that made its money from the opium trade across the desert. Another great house belongs to the notorious Salim Singh, who was the ruler's chief minister at the beginning of the 19th century. Colonel James Tod, who was his contemporary and wrote the first account in English of Jaisalmer, described him as "a vampire, draining the life-blood of a whole people," (Tod, p. 1240) by his cruel exactions on trade and agriculture, and as a man of fiend-like spirit who murdered anyone who stood in his way. Tod claims that by driving out the traders and bankers and crushing the spirits of the cultivators, Salim Singh destroyed the prosperity of Jaisalmer.

South of the town on a small ridge 250 feet above the surrounding country is the great fort of the rulers of Jaisalmer. Surrounded by high walls with many bastions and battlements, the fort was the final refuge in times of war. It contains the ruler's palace, family man-

sions, and a number of Hindu and Jain temples. Like most Indian royal residences, the palace has hundreds of small rooms, reflecting the ruler's life style: the need for accommodation for wives and concubines, for numerous relatives, servants of all kinds, and guards. The exterior of the palace is very beautiful, with many carvings in limestone and sandstone. The palace is crowned by a great metal umbrella, a sign of royalty in India since very ancient times.

The temples in the fort area are very old, perhaps dating back even before the building of the city in 1156. Jaisalmer was a refuge for the Jain community, a religious sect that believed in complete nonviolence. They fled to Jaisalmer from areas where they were persecuted. They were given protection by the Jaisalmer rulers, and, since many of them were merchants and bankers, they controlled much of the wealth of the city. They used their wealth to build temples and to support learning, with the result that Jaisalmer has some of the oldest and most valuable collections of manuscripts in India. Elsewhere, invading armies destroyed much of the record of India's past, but in Jaisalmer, in the Jain monasteries, learning and literature found a refuge. The dry climate of the area helped the preservation of so many treasures. Elsewhere the insects and damp heat of India are very destructive of manuscripts. Although there are many thousands of palm-leaf manuscripts in the temples and a few scholars have studied them, most of them have been little used in modern times.

Since India has become independent, Jaisalmer has been less isolated, less cut off from the modern world. It can now be reached by rail and bus from Jodhpur, the nearest large city, which is about 200

miles to the east. A very ambitious irrigation program has been started that, when completed, will bring water a distance of over 400 miles from the Punjab rivers to Jaisalmer. Scientists believe that with the introduction of water much of the area can be made to yield crops, ending dependency on the few scanty inches of rain that fall during the monsoon. Prospecting for oil has also been started in the region, with some indication that oil may be present as in other desert areas. At the beginning of the 19th century, Colonel Tod had foreseen two possibilities that would make Jaisalmer important to the rest of India. One was that it would be a link, as it had been in ancient times, for trade and commerce between the Indus and Gangetic valleys. The other was that it would become a bulwark for the defense of India, as it was then on the border between the territories conquered by the British and the areas to the west. Jaisalmer, he said, would be the most practicable route for an enemy entering India from the west, and therefore it should become a strong point of defense. Jaisalmer never served this function in the 19th century, but, during the war between Indian and Pakistan in 1971, it was one of the points of attack from the west. Its great wall and fort no longer serve as a defense against modern armies, but they are a reminder of the city's heritage as a place of refuge. It is possible it may become, as Tod hoped, a trading link when the two countries establish more friendly relations.

FATEHPUR SIKRI

Fatehpur Sikri is one of the many cities of India that were built as capitals by rulers and then deserted. Once the imperial capital of Emperor Akbar (c.1526-1605), now it is the silent witness of a vanished dream, a collection of temples and mosques, mansions, and palaces. The present town is located on the slope of a rocky sandstone ridge to the southwest of the ruins and old buildings, which cover an area of 2,032 acres. The town now has a population of over 10,000, although in Akbar's days the population exceeded 400,000.

Fatehpur Sikri was once a small, insignificant town inhabited by a community of stonecutters who took the raw material for their trade from the hillock on which they lived. Its history goes back to the 14th century when it was held by the Sikarwar Rajputs. The Sikarwars are a branch of the Bargujars (one of the 36 royal Rajput clans) claiming descent from Rama's son, Lava. According to the legend current in Agra, they came from Ayodhya by way of Gwalior, Jaipur, and Bharatpur and settled down in Sikri, from which the tribe is said to have derived its name, under their leader Chandraj. Sikri, however, came into prominence in the first quarter of the 15th century when it was made the headquarters of the Saiyids, Muslim rulers of the region east of Bayana. It is next heard of after Babar's conquest of India in 1525. Babar visited Sikri because of the existence of a big lake there. He ordered a stone platform to be built in the middle of the lake for holding parties. Some years later, a holy man, Salim Chisti, came to live in the area. The people believed he possessed the power

of performing miracles, and the stonecutters built a mosque over the grotto where he meditated. Many nobles and courtiers from Agra who had heard of Salim Chisti visited him, but it was to the Emperor himself that he owed his great fame. Akbar's wife had not produced a son and Salim Chisti was reputed to be able to cure barren women. So Akbar sent his wife to Salim Chisti to be blessed. A son was born, whom Akbar named Salim (later Jahangir) in honor of the holy man. The grateful Akbar then decided to move his capital to Sikri. He had just captured the great Rajput fort of Ranthambore, and he commemorated his victory by renaming the village of Sikri, Fatehpur Sikri (city of victory).

For his wife's confinement, Akbar had begun building a palace in 1569, Rang Mahal, close to the stone cutters' mosque. The innumerable palaces and mosques took 5 or 6 years to build, and, in 1574, Akbar held his court at Fatehpur Sikri. Ralph Fitch, an Englishman who visited the city, wrote, "The king hath in Agra and Fatepore...1,000 elephants, 30,000 horses, 1,400 tame deer and 800 concubines...such store of ounces, tigers, buffaloes, cocks and hawks that it is very strange to see. He keepeth a great Court....Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London." (John Pinkerton, "A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World," Vol. 9, p. 410)

Abul Fazl, Akbar's friend and court historian, gave a vivid description of the beauty of Fatehpur Sikri. A masonry fort was erected, and two elephants carved in stone at its gate "inspire astonishment." The royal palace and the residence of many of the nobility were upon

the summit of the hill, but the plains were studded with numerous mansions and gardens. Akbar ordered the building of mosques, a college, and a religious house. Within the neighborhood was a lake 12 miles in circumference; on its embankment was constructed a spacious courtyard, a minar, and a place for the game of chargan. Here elephant fights alsc took place. Also in the vicinity was a quarry of red sandstone where slates of any dimension could be excavated. Akbar lived in his new capital for 16 years. He held religious discussions at the Ibadata-Khana (House of Worship) and as a result, the new religion, Din-i-Ilahi, a synthesis of all creeds, was established. Akbar left Fatehpur Sikri in 1581 for Kabul, but he returned in the same year to celebrate his victory. In 1582, a reservoir at Sikri suddenly burst, with disastrous results. A number of houses were swept away. However, the princes and their friends were saved and Akbar spent vast sums in alms which he gave in gratitude and ordered that meat should not be served to his table on the anniversary of this day.

Akbar left Fatehpur Sikri in 1586. Troubles in the northwest compelled him to move to Lahore, and then he returned to Agra instead of to Sikri. A shortage of water probably explains why he abandoned Sikri, for the lake dried up during the winter and summer. Within a few years, the palaces, mosques, and mansions were deserted. William Finch, who visited the city 5 years after Akbar's death, found it "ruinate, lying like a waste desart (sic), and very dangerous to passe through in the night." (William Foster, "Early Travels in India, 1583-1619," p. 148). It became the haunt of wild beasts. There are

accounts of Shah Jehan and others visiting it and offering prayers. Only once did a later Mughal king decide to honor Sikri. This was Mohammed Shah, when he sat in state there on the Peacock Throne in 1719, and had himself crowned Emperor of India.

Fatehpur Sikri preserves "the complete physical environment in which Akbar, his family, and his courtiers lived." As a recent writer remarks, "both as evidence for the domestic arrangements of Akbar's household and as an unsurpassed essay in the combination of Muslim and Hindu styles, Fatehpur Sikri must rank among the most important surviving Mughal monuments." (Hambly, "Cities of Mughal India," p. 64). Akbar encouraged a synthesis of Muslim and Hindu artistic tradition which reflected the noncommunal composition of his court and "the Emperor's concept of a universal empire unfettered by Muslim particularist traditions." (Hambly, p. 73.)

With its cluster of historical buildings, the town is about 6 miles in circumference, and is surrounded by a 32-foot high battlement wall with nine identical gateways each flanked by massive semi-circular stone bastions.

The Naubat Khana is a triple archway where music was played by the court musicians to announce the arrival and departure of the king on state functions. The courtyard in front was perhaps the jewellers' bazaar. From the Naubat Khana, the road leads up a hill to the mint. To the south of the mint was the royal treasury, now in a dilapidated condition.

The Diwan-i-Am, or Hall of Public Audience, has two beautiful screens of red sandstone engraved in geometrical patterns. The Diwan-

i-khas, or Hall of Private Audience, is near the astrologer's seat. Next is the Ankh Michauli, the Hide-and-Seek chamber where Akbar is said to have played hide-and-seek with the ladies of his court.

The Parchisi Court, in front of the Diwan-i-khas, is laid out in black and white squares. According to legend, Akbar used courtesans as the pawns in the game. The Panch Mahal is an open, five-story, pillared pavilion from which the women could see the moon and have a panoramic view of the countryside.

The apartment of the Turkish sultan is an exquisite work in stone. Geometrical designs and a variety of designs from nature all blend into a harmonious whole. The biggest building of Fatehpur Sikri is the mosque, the Jami Masjid, built by Akbar in 1571-72. Two enormous gates, the Saahi Darwaza and the Buland Darwaza, open to the east and south. The beginning of an Arabic inscription on the inside of the Buland Darwaza says: "Thus said Jesus, on whom be peace! The world is a bridge; pass over it, but build no house upon it." Within the courtyard is the white marble tomb of Salim Chisti. To this day, women come to ask for the gift of children by tying a thread on the marble screen and making a wish.

Today, these opulent buildings are an important tourist attraction and a reminder of a bygone era.

CHANDIGARH

As a new and totally planned city, Chandigarh, compared with most other Indian cities, presents many unusual features. It was created to meet the need for a new capital city for Punjab after the partition of India in 1947. In 1950, the original planning of the city was done by Albert Mayer of Mayer and Whittlesey of New York, but in 1951, Le Corbusier, the well-known French architect, revised the entire plan with the help of Maxwell Fry, Pierre Jeaneret, and Jane Drew. These partners were aided by a team of Indian architects, engineers, and administrators, notable among whom were P. L. Varma, the Chief Engineer of Punjab, and P. N. Thapar of the Indian Civil Service. In the main, however, Chandigarh is the product of the master builder, Le Corbusier.

Chandigarh is situated 150 miles north of Delhi. The city covers 8,919 acres or about 16.5 square miles and is roughly rectangular in shape. It is on a plateau at about 1,300 feet above sea level. The average rainfall in the area is 45 inches a year. In 1961, the population of the city was 99,282, and by 1971, it had grown to 218,743. The original plan envisaged no more than 150,000 inhabitants since, being neither a manufacturing nor an industrial city, it had no compelling impetus for growth. Its importance lies entirely in being a seat of the state government of Punjab. Since the division of Punjab into Haryana and Punjab, Chandigarh has had the unique function of being the capital of both states.

With the partition of India in 1947, the old province of Punjab was bifurcated, the western portions with a Muslim majority going to Pakistan and the eastern portions remaining with India. When Lahore, the capital of the undivided Punjab, went over to Pakistan, the East Punjab was left without a capital. Though Simla functioned as the capital of the new state for some time, it suffered from many drawbacks. Being a hill station, it was hard to get to, it was very cold in winter, and it had very little scope for expansion because of its location in the hills. Construction and living costs were also very high.

Very positive advantages were seen in constructing an entirely new capital. Partition had disrupted the economic and cultural life of the new state, and it was felt that a suitable nucleus should be provided around which the commercial, educational, and cultural interests of the new state could be rehabilitated. The city thus was conceived amidst the crisis and confusion created by the partition and consequent influx of refugees from West Pakistan. At the same time, a new, independent India was being born. Jawaharlal Nehru, then Prime Minister of India, gave enthusiastic support to the idea of creating a new city, and the impetus for the project came mainly from him. In his usual romantic vein, he said of Chandigarh: "Let this be a new town, symbolic of the freedom of India, unfettered by the traditions of the past...an expression of the nation's faith in the future." The site chosen was free from the existing encumbrances of old towns and old traditions. In the words of Nehru, this was to be "the first

large expression of our creative genius flowering on our newly-earned freedom."

There were several factors which influenced the choice of Chandigarh. In the first place, the site is fairly level, with a gentle slope eminently suited for purposes of drainage. Second, there is abundant supply of underground water. The site has a healthy climate and fertile soil for growing fruits, vegetables, and trees. Building materials, such as good clay, stones, and sand are easily available from neighboring areas. Situated at the foot of the Shivalik hills and against the evergreen hills of the Himalayas, the site has considerable scenic beauty. Furthermore, there was ample scope for building without destroying existing patterns of life. The only village nearby is that of Mani Majra where there is a temple to the goddess Chandi from whom the city derives its name.

The area of the city has been divided into small units called sectors. There are 29 sectors numbered from 1 to 30, skipping the unlucky number 13. The sectors are rectangular, and, with the exception of sectors 1 to 6, each sector is three-quarters of a mile in length and half a mile in width and covers roughly 250 acres. Every sector has been arranged so as to function as a self-sufficient unit in terms of its day-to-day requirements such as shopping centers, cinemas, schools, health and community centers, and recreation grounds. But although each sector was designed to be self-sufficient, it was not expected to be a closed and isolated unit.

One of the unique features of the city is its street system. The road plan is based on a rectangular network or grid at intervals of

half a mile by three-quarters of a mile, for the most part. The direction of the road network is also significant. The longer roads run from northwest to southeast, following the fall of the land, and the shorter roads from east to west, in the direction of the prevailing breeze in winter and summer. There are seven categories of roads, defined in accordance with their use. Various types of traffic have been classified and have been segregated in the road system. The difference between the fast-moving and slow-moving traffic has been kept in mind. Attention has been paid to the problem of traffic congestion and pedestrian safety.

The focal point of the city is the "Capitol" complex containing the government buildings, the High Court, the Legislative Assembly, the Governor's mansion, and the Secretariat. The Governor's mansion crowns the Capitol. These buildings, which are of great architectural interest, were planned and designed by Le Corbusier. Located in sector 1 in the northeast corner of the city, they stand in solemn isolation and grandeur.

According to Le Corbusier, the materials of city planning are sky, space, trees, steel and cement, in this order and in this hierarchy. With this aim in view, the structures were kept separate with plenty of space left between them. Since the sections were designed to function more or less independently of each other, the planners thought that, for the day-to-day workings of the government, there was no particular need for close physical communication. At the same time, in spite of the space available around the structures, the Capitol area was not designed to permit further expansion. It has become

increasingly difficult, therefore, to find room for the fast expanding requirements of a developing secretariat.

The chief commercial area, which also contains the district offices and other government departments along with the town hall, is in sector 17, almost at the geographical center of the city. The industrial area is at a distance from the city and has an area of 580 acres. The education center, i.e., the University, is situated in the northwest. Out of 29 sectors, all except 5 are residential sectors.

Parks and parkways run across the city from one end to the other. An area of 3,000 acres immediately surrounding the city has been left undeveloped to serve as a green belt, where trees have been planted with careful attention to their height, spread, pace of growth, color of flowers, and the seasons of flowering.

The community in Chandigarh is barely 15 years old, hence it may be too early to expect a stable and coherent social structure. The city is largely inhabited by migrants from West Pakistan, as well as from other parts of India. The natural process of community organization has also been affected by the controls inherent in planning. Two significant aspects of the physical structure which influence the social structure are housing and the spatial distribution of population in terms of the specially created sectors.

The magnificent structures created by Le Corbusier, as well as the splendid domestic architecture in various sectors of the city built by wealthy citizens, give Chandigarh the appearance of a most class-conscious city. Recent critics argue that Chandigarh does not conform to the socialist pattern of modern India. The needs of the

poorer classes of the community, it has been said, have been ignored, and the city is dehumanized and bureaucratic. Chandigarh, according to these critics, fails to provide an answer to the urban problems of modern industrial society. These criticisms are summed up in a letter by a recent visitor: "Chandigarh seems very dull after the other Indian cities. Its openness is very much what the Western cities need, yet here it all seems very anti-Indian.

"I am too well 'protected' by the green belt which surrounds the Guest House. Somehow I prefer the overcrowded streets and the public bathrooms. They seem more real, and paradoxically, more dignified. Chandigarh is too objective for my taste!

"There is not height to cancel the boredom of the equal-looking architecture which seems to grow out of some abstract and selfish enterprise. Adequate living? They tell me people live much better here and that government housing costs only 10 percent of one's salary - yet I see no individuality! It is as though I am presented with 'live statistics:' 13 categories of housing; administration complex, industry to the east, education to the west, etc., etc. Furthermore, it is so conscious of its own organization..."

But the costs and class values reflected in Chandigarh are an integral part not only of Indian tradition but of all modern cities of the world. Chandigarh was planned for a modern community, and was equipped with the requirements of such a community. To the master builder, Le Corbusier, this city of his creation was like a poem, displaying abundant grandeur and romantic fervor. Despite criticism, however severe or legitimate it might be, the fact remains that

Chandigarh is a bold and unique experiment in successful town planning and architecture.

GWALIOR

Gwalior is an example of a city that has passed through at least three distinct stages of development. It originated as a strong defense point in the interior of the country, controlling routes between the north and south. Then in the 18th and 19th centuries, it was the capital of a semi-autonomous kingdom. Finally, it has become a center for modern industrial development in a relatively backward region of India.

The city and the district derive their name from the historic rock fortress built on an isolated flat-topped hill. Various legends exist regarding the origin of the name of the district, which is referred to in inscriptions as Gopaparvat, Gopachal Dung, Gopagiri, or Gopadri, meaning the cowherd's hill. The hill on which the fortress was built was originally called Gopachala and Gopagiri, or the hill of Gopa or the cowherd, and under this name, Gwalior was founded by a Kachhwaha chief, Suraj Sen, the petty Raja of Kuntalpuri or Kutwar. The story goes that Suraj Sen was a leper, and, one day while on a hunting expedition, he came near the hill of Gopagiri to look for water. He came to the cave of a holy man, the Siddh Gwalipa, and asked for water. The hermit gave him some water in his own vessel, and, no sooner had the king drunk it than he was cured of his leprosy. The grateful Raja promised to do whatever the holy man wished. On being directed to build a fort on the hill and to enlarge the tank from which the healing water had been drawn, Suraj Sen built the

fortress, which he named after the hermit Gwaliawar or Gwalior. The king also enlarged the tank and called it Suraj Kund after himself.

The fortress stands on a long, narrow, rocky sandstone hill which rises abruptly 300 feet above the surrounding country. It is 1 3/4 miles long, running north to south, and varies in width from 600 feet to 2,800 feet. The walls of the fortress are 30 to 35 feet high. The fort contains numerous temples, Hindu and Jain sculptures, shrines, tanks, wells, and palaces, the most famous of which are those of the ruler Raja Man Singh (1486-1517), the greatest of the Tomar rulers who adorned the hill with new edifices. According to legend, Raja Man Singh was hunting one day near the village of Rai to the northwest of the fort when he saw a beautiful girl. He at once fell in love with her and asked her to marry him. Mrignayani was a village girl fond of the river which washed her village. She agreed to marry the king if he could devise some means to connect the palace with the village river. The infatuated king is said to have built an underground tunnel, traces of which are still to be seen, which connected the river with the palace.

Gwalior was under the rule of various Rajput dynasties including the Kanauj kings of the Kachhwahas, and the Parihars, and later on, the Mughals. The Rajputs ruled Gwalior until 1196 when Qutubuddin Aibak took the fort for Mohammed Ghori. Fourteen years later, the Parihars recovered the fort again. They retained possession until 1232 when Iltumish, after a siege of 11 months, captured the citadel and, to celebrate this victory, put 700 prisoners to death. Rather than fall victims to the kings of Delhi, the Rajput women burned

themselves to death in the ceremony known as jauhar. The fort and the territory remained in the hands of the Muslim Sultans until 1398 when Timur invaded North India. During the confusion caused by the invasion, a Tomar Rajput made himself master of Gwalior.

Raja Man Singh was the greatest king of this time. His eventful rule from 1486 to 1517 marks a period of great political and cultural development. His patronage of musicians brought into existence the Gwalior School of Music which later gave Akbar 16 singers out of the 36 named in the "Ain-i-Akbari," including Tan Sen, the most famous singer in India. Tan Sen's tomb is in Gwalior, within sight of the palaces which he knew so well.

Raja Man Singh's death was followed by a formidable attack on the fort by the Delhi Sultan, which culminated in conquest in 1516. Thereafter, it passed into the hands of the Mughals. It was in Akbar's time that the fort became not only a strong palace for the Mughals, but also a political prison. The power of the Mughal empire declined in the early 18th century, and Gwalior passed under the control of the Marathas in 1765. One of the leading Maratha generals, Mahaji Sindhia, made it the capital of what was virtually an independent kingdom. Sindhia almost immediately found his power, along with that of all the other Maratha princes, challenged by the British, who were just beginning to establish themselves in India.

Early in the 19th century, the ruler of Gwalior was forced to sign treaties which, while leaving him much of his power within the state, brought him effectively under control of the British. In 1857, during the great uprisings in North India against British rule, the

Gwalior ruler, unlike some of the other Maratha princes, supported the British.

In the early 20th century, the Maharaja encouraged the establishment of new industries by offering concessions to those who started new enterprises. In 1921, for example, no customs duty was charged on the machinery imported for the spinning and weaving mills, and the land for the mills was given free of charge. On imported articles which could be produced in the state, the duty was high to encourage people to manufacture the articles locally. In pursuance of this policy the services of an expert were engaged by the state in 1910 to test the various types of clay found in the area and ascertain the possibilities of a ceramic industry. In 1913, Madho Rao Sindia sanctioned the scheme for starting an experimental pottery works. The Gwalior Potteries were granted exemption from customs and excise duty on all their imports and exports for a period of 5 years, later extended to 10 years. Though its products faced severe competition from imported crockery and pottery from Japan from 1933 onwards, it managed to survive. In 1941, there was a great demand for its products. With the use of improved techniques, the quality of the product has steadily improved.

Besides pottery, Gwalior has an engineering works, lumber factory, and among the small-scale industries, carpet and dari manufacture, hosiery and umbrella factories, cloth, laquer ware, and toy production have made great progress over the years. The Gwalior Rayon and Silk manufacturers have developed recently and compete with the finest silk and rayon goods in the country.

Buildings in Gwalior vary in appearance and design according to the period of their construction. The older houses are easily recognizable by their elaborate stone carving and lattice work. The houses built by the former Sardars and Jagirdars are imposing, with lattice work panels and carved stone pillars, sometimes rising to 3 or 4 stories, with rich carving on sandstone adorning their arches. Those buildings built in recent times are of a stereotyped design, flat-roofed, built of concrete cement, and without any distinctive features. The old city is now very crowded, and the new city has spread outside the ancient walls.

BOMBAY

The city of Bombay, situated on the western coast of India, is the capital of Maharashtra State. Bombay is essentially a modern city in the sense that modernization has taken place to an extent comparable with any of the great cities of the Western world and in that it is of modern origin. Bombay is the main center of finance in India and a great center of industry, trade, transport, and communications. From tiny hamlets, which formed self-sufficient units in the 16th and 17th centuries, Bombay has grown into one of the largest cities of the world, favored by the natural advantages of a good harbor and a fertile hinterland. Trade, which at one time was more or less local in character, has become international. Seats of learning, banks, government offices, clearing houses of trade and commerce, and big firms now dominate the city. People from all parts of India flock to Bombay in search of employment as well as amusement. With labor easily available, the city has become a center for factories and mills.

Although the history of the area can be traced back to ancient times, the town was planned by the British who occupied it in 1662 after the island was given to Charles II as part of the dowry of the Portuguese Princess Catharine of Braganza.

In former times, the city was composed of seven small islands, but these were gradually joined by causeways and breakwaters to make one large island. This was then connected with the mainland by means of two causeways, one at Sion, the other at Mahim, and two railway embankments. The shallow estuaries were also filled up and the other

islands of Colaba, Mahalaxmi, Varli, and Mazagoan were joined with Bombay. Two parallel ridges of low hills intersecting below the high water level beyond Colaba form the dangerous reef marked by the Pronga Lighthouse. The headland formed by the longer of these ridges protects the harbor. The ridge terminates in Malabar Hill, and between the two lies the shallow expanse of Back Bay which is accessible only to fishing boats.

Bombay derives its name from Mumba Devi, the patron goddess of Bombay, who under the title of Mumai is still worshipped as a village goddess in Kathiavar. In the 17th century, Englishmen believed that the name Bombay meant "boon bay" or good bay, and had been given by the Portuguese, but the name Mumbai, which even today is familiar in old Bombay, was known to ancient Hindus. During the Mauryan rule, the entire strip of land between the sea and the western ghats was famous for various types of goods.

The earliest accounts in existence show that in the late 13th century, King Bimba founded the capital of his kingdom in Mahim, the first part of the seven islands of Bombay. Various Hindu rulers followed King Bimba until in 1348 Bombay came under the control of the Muslim rulers of Gujarat. Bombay seems to have had little significance to these rulers, except that Mahim was one of the military outposts in the region. The rivalry between Ahmedabad and Bahmin kingdoms on the shores of Bombay received some notice, but the Muslim rulers had by now lost interest in the sea. Also, nearby Surat continued to attract the Arabian traders, adequately meeting their needs.

The third period of the history of Bombay commenced in 1534 with the cession of the islands to the Portuguese by Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat. Under the Portuguese, Bombay was divided into manors or fiefs and granted to individuals on nominal rentals.

After 1662, when the East India Company took over management of Bombay, the natural harbor attracted the attention of the British traders. Successive governors of the island devoted themselves to building shipyards, forts, and factories for the East India Company's trade. The fortifications of Bombay were strengthened and the city was colonized during the 17th and 18th centuries.

After the beginning of the 19th century, systematic steps were taken to bring about steady improvement of the city. Institutions like Elphinstone College, followed by Grant Medical College and a number of other schools, provided a nucleus for the educational and cultural growth of Bombay. The period between 1860 and 1865 was one of feverish activity. Sir Bartle Frere, the governor, was determined to bring progress to every branch of the administration. By 1870, railway lines connected Bombay with important areas like Baroda and Broach. Communication with the coastal villages by sea became more regular. Above all, cotton mills were established. In 1870, there were only 10 mills on the island, but in 1882 their number had reached 32, and, by 1890, 70 mills had been established.

Bombay's trade also increased greatly. In 1885-86, exports were worth about 419 million rupees and imports about 440 million. The value of cotton exported amounted to more than 84 million rupees and of pulse and grain, more than 43 million. The growth of the mill

industry during this decade led to further settlement of the northern areas of the island. The industrial population, which flocked from the Deccan and Konkan, found work not only in the cotton industry, but also in the flour mills and workshops of various types which sprang up during this period. Such population growth created pressing problems for civic administration. To look after the problems of ever-expanding civic government, a corporation was formed in Bombay in 1865. There has been a Port Improvement Trust since 1898. Thus was ushered in an era of modernization in Bombay.

Over the years, the boundaries of the city have expanded relentlessly, especially since 1917. In 1950, the Bombay municipal area was enlarged to cover the entire Bombay suburban district; the Municipal Corporation was then named Greater Bombay Municipal Corporation. In 1956, 26 more villages of the Thana district were brought under the domain of the Corporation. In 1901, the population of Bombay was 927,994. In 1951, the Bombay city covered 80.8 square miles, with a population of 2.83 million. In 1961, it covered 169 square miles and had a population of 4.15 million, and by 1971, the population had grown to 5,970,575.

This phenomenal rise in population can be partially explained in terms of growth in birth rate and decline in death rate. But the more important factor relates to migration of large numbers of persons from various parts of the country to Bombay.

Distinct waves of migrants have hit Bombay in past centuries. The Bhandaris and Thakurs had settled there in the early days of Hindu rule. Pathare Prabhus and Paluskar Brahmans came with Raja Bimba in

the 13th century. Mohammedan rule left a legacy of a sizeable number of Konkani Muslims. The Portuguese, who ruled over Bombay until 1662, converted a large number of Indians to Christianity. With the British came the Parsis from Surat, the Gujarati Banias from Goghe and Surat. The great famine of 1803 brought many fugitives from Gujarat. At about the same time came the Bhatias from Kathwad and the Khojas and Bohras from Cutch. During the Maratha administration, a large number of Brahmans also migrated to Bombay since new opportunities were open to them.

The Parsis continued to maintain their distinct identity. They had fled to India in the 8th century following the Arab invasion of Persia and the persecution of their religion, Zoroastrianism. Arriving in India on the shores of Gujarat, they settled first in Kathiawar and Thana. Originally weavers by occupation, they became skilled artisans, money lenders, and traders. During British rule, their prosperity reached new heights. They adopted Western ways easily without losing their identity and soon were able to build business and industrial empires. They also produced intellectuals, social workers, reformers, and national leaders. Bombay was enriched by their contributions. Though comprising a small number in Bombay, only 70,115 in 1961, they are an influential community.

Hindus continue to be the predominant community, more than 2.8 million of the population. The number of Muslims in 1961 was 538,389; followed by Christians, 226,023; and Buddhists, 192,717.

Out of the total population of Greater Bombay in 1961 (4,152,056) 64 percent (2.67 million) were born outside the city limits. Maha-

rashtra and Gujarat accounted for nearly 59 percent of the migrants to the city. Nearly 1.11 million of these migrants came from within the State of Maharashtra and speak Marathi. The number of non-Marathi speaking migrants was 1,556,579. Of the total migrant population, 1.4 million were classified as workers. Since the total working class population of Bombay was put at 1,686,668 by the Census of 1961, the overwhelming majority of workers consisted of a migrant labor force.

There is also a constant reverse migration from the city. About 30 percent of the males and 20 percent of the females leave Bombay within 3 or 4 years of entering the city. The movement between villages and cities generates far-reaching social and economic changes. The labor force remains in a state of flux, creating conditions of social instability. Although the lives of the migrants are likely to be influenced by city life, in Bombay, to a great extent, the migrants lead their own lives, based on their own customs and traditions. This results sometimes in a compartmentalization which prevents assimilation of the social values of city life.

Bombay is a major manufacturing center, with 39 percent of its workers engaged in manufacturing industry. With the growth of industry and commerce, new groups and classes have emerged, but the traditional trading groups continue to dominate the business life of Bombay. The Bhatias, for example, are chiefly cloth merchants, landlords, and mill owners. The Jains or Gujarati Banias are still bankers and jewellers, but many of them are also mill owners. Marwaris are money lenders and speculate in opium, cotton, silver, and gold. Khojas are mill owners, general merchants, contractors, and do a large

business in imports and exports. Many Jains and Hindus are stock-brokers and shareholders. There are still a number of European business and manufacturing concerns with considerable capital investment in India housed in Bombay. Many of the Parsi families are eminent bankers and industrialists, and were pioneers in international trade among the Indians of Bombay.

Another industry for which Bombay is famous is the film industry. The large number of actors, actresses, song composers, directors, and producers there have made the city a magnet for young people seeking fame and fortune.

Like all great cities, Bombay has a large criminal element. It is reputed to have an organized underworld. With a vast working class population living under the most deplorable conditions, its slums are the breeding grounds for criminals. Bootlegging, smuggling, gambling, prostitution, kidnappings, thefts, and murders are common.

Assaults and murders for personal vendetta or trade union activities are common, as are factional fights between rival bootleggers. Gangs of thieves patrol the docks and other areas, and the chor bazar, or market for stolen articles, which is patronized by respectable citizens, carries on a flourishing business. Less than 20 percent of the stolen goods are ever recovered. The goondas or dadas, as the gangsters are called, organize thefts of all kinds.

Until recently the city was dry, but there were at least 15,000 unlicensed distilleries in the slums, the suburbs, and the jungles. Stills cater to the needs of over 400,000 customers, and nearly 60,000 men and women work at different stages of the brewing of liquor.

One problem which has defied solution in Bombay is the housing shortage. Large numbers of people live in one-room tenements and sometimes two families are huddled together in a space no larger than 8 feet by 10 feet. The rooms are dark and cheerless. Water taps and toilets are shared by many occupants and there are constant quarrels, often resulting in fighting and bloodshed.

The number of households in Greater Bombay was 803,023, according to the Census of 1961, with an average of 5.2 persons per household. 2.4 percent of these houses have no regular "rooms" at all, they are mere "shacks" or "hutments." Approximately 21,000 people in Bombay live in such households. Another 2.83 million are in one-room households with five persons, on the average, per room. Nearly 72 percent of the households in Bombay consist of just one room, and less than 10 percent of the households have three rooms or more.

As in large metropolises elsewhere in the world, the problems of Bombay often seem insuperable. It is, however, a vibrant, creative city which attracts hundreds of thousands of immigrants from the villages, promising them a better life than they had known before.

SIMLA

Simla is a "hill station," one of the many resort towns in the hills created by the British, but unique in that it was the summer capital of India until 1947. Situated in the foothills of the Himalayas, Simla commands a magnificent view of a network of mountain chains and deep precipitous valleys thickly clothed with the finest pine forests. The scenic beauty of the area, coupled with its temperate climate, attracts a large number of people from northern India during the summer. Simla is built in in an irregular crescent shape at an elevation 7,984 feet above sea level, and covers 7 square miles.

According to one story, Simla derived its name from "Shyamala," the house built of blue slate by a fakir (mendicant) at Jakku village, the first nucleus of the settlement. Another story has it that "Simla" has its origin in "Shamla" meaning a "dark, or blue, female," which perhaps was a name for the goddess Kali.

The district of Simla was the creation of the British, whose control of the area commenced after the war with Nepal in 1816. It is said that the idea of establishing a town at Simla first occurred to a British officer who was moving his Gurkha troops through the area in 1818 and was impressed by its pleasant climate. Another version is that Simla first became known to the British through two Scottish officers who were surveying the nearby Sutlej valley. Their diary dated August 30, 1817 states "Simla, a middling-sized village where a Fakir is situated to give water to travellers...We encamped on the side of Jakko, and had a very extensive and beautiful prospect."

(Edward J. Buck, "Simla Past and Present," p. 4). The official history of Simla states that as early as 1824, Europeans, chiefly invalids from the plains, had established themselves in the locality. The Maharaja permitted them to build houses, with no other stipulation than that they should refrain from the slaughter of cows and the felling of trees. Simla soon became known for its healthy climate, and in 1930, Major Kennedy, the political agent, negotiated the exchange of Simla for territory in direct British control.

In 1831, Victor Jacquemont, the French traveller, noted that it was the "resort of the rich, the idle and the invalid." (Buck, p. 5). As a guest of Major Kennedy, he wrote home: "I do not recollect having tasted water for the last seven days." (Buck, p. 9). Kennedy was responsible for persuading the hill people to grow European vegetables, which grew better in the hills than on the plains. These cultivators soon took up the idea and began cutting down trees to cultivate vegetables, particularly potatoes.

The first governor-general to live at Simla was Lord Amherst (1823-28), but it was Lord William Bentinck, his successor, who made Simla popular. The great house he built was known as "Bentinck's Castle." Lord Bentinck worked hard to establish social relations between the Indians and Europeans. Lord and Lady Bentinck contributed much to the station, building a hospital and a <u>serai</u> (lodging house) for Indians out of their private purses. Simla owes its first church to Lady Bentinck. A prominent peak was called Bentinck's Nose because of the similarity of its outline to the profile of Lord Bentinck.

Bentinck's successor, Lord Auckland, did not live at Bentinck Castle, but chose the Auckland House (now a school). Auckland House was, according to a contemporary, the scene of many a brilliant ball and amusing theatrical. On May 8, 1838, Lord Auckland held a Darbar at Auckland House where all the hill chiefs were received for the first time.

Not all the Viceroys liked Simla. Lord Dalhousie, for example, wrote in September, 1851, "We have had such festivities here as never were, balls here, balls there, balls by the society, amateur plays, concerts, fancy fairs, investitures of the Bath, etc. I quite sigh for the quiet of Calcutta." (Buck, p. 34). Neither Lord nor Lady Canning cared for Simla. The Viceroy was never free from neuralgia while in the hills, and Lady Canning objected to the place as "very public" and disliked the crowd which met daily on the mall.

Lord Lawrence, who was governor-general from 1864-1869, made Simla the summer capital of the Government of India. His doctors insisted upon a residence in the hills in the hot weather as a condition of his accepting the viceroyalty. Lawrence always maintained, however, that the arrangement was economical. "I believe we will do more work in one day here (Simla) than in five down in Calcutta....I did not go to the hills because I was sick. I did not go there to amuse myself or enjoy myself. I spent five months of the year there because I could serve the company more labouriously and more effectively than if I had been in the plains." (Buck, pp. 36-37). In fact, he threatened to resign the viceroyalty if his proposal to summer in the hills was not sanctioned.

Simla was also the regular headquarters of the commander in chief of the army and of the Punjab Government which first came to Simla in 1871.

There was tremendous building activity after 1909 when legislative meetings were held at Simla. The secretariat offices, the army headquarters, the telegraph and post offices, the court, and a number of cottages were constructed. In spite of the increasing number of cottages, complaints about lack of accommodations grew as time passed.

The town remained the summer capital of the Government of India as well as of the Punjab Government until World War II. In the later period of World War II, it became a temporary seat for the refugee government of Burma. Upon partition in August 1947, the displaced government of East Punjab moved there, and Simla continued to be the capital of the Punjab until Chandigarh was built in 1953. The Government of India still has a number of offices there such as All-India Radio, the Central Excise and Customs Office, Central P.W.D., Directorate of Labour Bureau, and the Army Headquarters of the Western Command. Simla is also the seat of government of the Himachal Pradesh.

Simla is famous for its private schools, many of them run by Christian churches. Sir Henry Lawrence established a school for the orphans and children of the British soldiers at Sanawar in 1847. The Bishop Cotton School, the Convent of Jesus and Mary, the Auckland House School, the Mayo School, the Christ Church and the Loretto Convent were all started in Simla proper in the second half of the 19th century.

Simla has a deficit in food grains and has to acquire a substantial amount from the plains. The great majority of the surrounding rural population are peasant proprietors who cultivate little plots of land. Their families toil in the fields unmoved by the dazzling social life of the tourists who crowd the city. The hill women working in the fields sing songs, the echoes of which vibrate on the other side of the hills. Fruits such as peaches, apples, strawberries, and grapes are extensively grown. The main exports are fruits, and fruit canning and brewing are the important industries of this region. Other industries worth noting are wooden top-making, stick-making, sawmilling, wooden goods, hosiery, trunkmaking, leather goods, oilseed crushing, and handloom weaving. All these enterprises are worked on a small scale and the resort trade remains the basis of Simla's economy.

GOA

As the capital of the vast empire which the Portuguese established in the eastern seas in the 17th century, the city of Goa played an extraordinary role in the history of European expansion. Goa is situated on India's western coast about 250 miles south-southeast of Bombay. Both the old capital, called Velha Goa, and the new capital, Nova Goa, are located on an island at the confluence of the two rivers, Mandavi and Juari. The island of Goa consists of three cities which represent three successive stages in the history of western India. The ancient Hindu city built by the Hindu rulers on the banks of the Juari river was the earliest, but no trace of the buildings exists. The second city, now known as Old Goa, was the first capital of the Portuguese and remains the ecclesiastical metropolis of Roman Catholics in India. This city, 5 miles to the north of the ancient Hindu city, was built by Mohammedans in 1479, 19 years before the arrival of Vasco de Gama. After its capture by Albuquerque in 1510, it became the capital of the Portuguese empire in Asia. Then, in 1759, after the decline of Old Goa, the third city, Panjim, was made the seat of the Portuguese administration, Old Goa becoming a mere suburb of Panjim. Nova Goa, the last capital of Portuguese India, consists of Panjim, capital of the territory of Goa; Ribandar; and the old city of Goa, and covers 6 square miles.

Old Goa lost its position of pre-eminence when the government was moved to Panjim because of repeated outbreaks of plague. Old Goa is famous for the Church of the Bom Jesus, where the relics of St. Fran-

cis Xavier, the patron saint of Goa, are preserved in a glass and silver casket. St. Catherine Cathedral, built as a parish church in 1512, was reconstructed in 1623 in its present majestic proportions. Numerous other monuments of Christian piety still exist. Forts, fortresses, and palaces add to the attraction of the city. Juxtaposed with these magnificent historical edifices are some elegant Hindu temples, notable among which are Shri Mangesh Temple and Shri Shantadurga Temple.

The "Ramayana" and "Mahabharata" and the "Puranas" contain references to the Goa region, which in ancient times was variously known as Gomanchala, Gaopuri, Gopakapur, Gopakapatna, and Gomantak. It is not possible to say when the name Goa was first used, but definite references have been found to Goa in the 11th century.

Goa's earliest settlers belonged to a Dravidian clan called Kannadigas of South India. Their kings invited to court Brahmin priests from North India who preached Hinduism. During the reign of Ashoka the Great, Buddhism spread to Goa. After the Emperor's death, Goa was conquered about 200 B.C. by the Kadambas of Banavasi. For many centuries, the Batpuras, descendants of Trilochana Kadamba, a powerful ruler about 120 A.D., ruled over Goa. King Jayakeshi of this dynasty made Gaopuri his capital. By 1126 A.D., the Kadambas of Goa had extended their kingdom in the east to the present Maharashtra and Mysore provinces. During the reign of these Hindu kings, Goa, which was then called Gopakapatna or Gaopuri, became the permanent capital with its trade and commerce extending from Zanzibar in Africa to Bengal and from Ceylon to Saurashtra. It was unrivalled in the whole of India.

Islam came to Goa with Malik Kafur, the great general of Aluddin Khilji of Delhi, who overran the Deccan around 1312 A.D. He plundered the town and burned it. In 1326, Goa fell to the Mohammedan rulers of Delhi for the second time. In 1347, the Bahamanis, a Muslim dynasty which had established itself in the area, captured Goa. After a hundred years, the Bahmani kingdom collapsed and the territory of Goa passed to the Sultan of Bijapur. Trade flourished in Goa's natural harbor, and its strategic position made it a most important city on the western coast. It was also a focal point for the Muslims of South India. Muslim pilgrims to Mecca embarked from here, and the rulers built fine mosques in the area.

Vasco de Gama in his bid to discover a new route to the East reached the western coast of India in 1498. The Portuguese soon began to enter the lucrative markets of South India in search of trade. Portugal sent Alfonso d'Albuquerque, charged with the task of destroying every Mohammedan ship, to ensure her complete mastery over the Indian Ocean. The governor soon realized that unless the Portuguese possessed some territory in India from which they could draw reserves and reinforcements in times of emergency, all efforts to obtain naval and trade supremacy would be in vain. He therefore conceived the idea of founding a Portuguese empire in the East. He had heard of the highly strategic position of the island of Goa. Some Hindus invited him to help them in their struggles against the oppression of the Muslim governor of Goa, Adil Shah. Albuquerque attacked the city and conquered it in 1510. With this began the Portuguese rule in India. In the 16th century, Goa reached its zenith of prosperity and fame.

Tavernier, the French traveller who visited Goa in 1648, admired the grandeur of the city. Another French traveller, Thevenot, said that the city was great and full of beautiful churches and convents with beautiful palaces. "Few nations in the world were so rich in the Indies as the Portuguese were, before their commerce was ruined by the Dutch, but their vanity is the cause of their loss." (Surendranath Sen, "Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri," pp. 129-130). Goa ceased to be an important trading city when Portugal lost her possessions to other nations, particularly the British and the Dutch.

The Jesuits selected Goa as their second headquarters outside Rome, and Goa became a great center for the spread of Christianity. The Portuguese resorted to mass conversions, with the twin objects of consolidating their political domination and spreading the Catholic faith in the conquered areas. Women were the first to be converted. During the mass conversion campaign, the Portuguese found, however, that only the people from the lowest classes of Hindus were willing to change their faith. By 1540, all Hindu temples were demolished. The persecution of Hindus and the material benefits offered to the new converts induced many to embrace Christianity, but many others among the Indians preferred to abandon their homes rather than their faiths.

Present-day Goan culture reflects its early religious diversity. The population of the colonies in 1960 consisted of 61 percent Hindus, 26 percent Christian, and 2 percent others including Muslims. Most of the Goans who bear Portuguese names are not descendants of Portuguese settlers, but are Indians who took Christian names upon conversion. The vast majority of people speak Konkani, an Indian dialect common to

the entire coast of western India from Bombay to Mangalore. Only a small minority, about 3 percent, speak or understand Portuguese. English, in fact, is more popular than Portuguese in this Portuguese province of India.

The Goan Catholics continue to follow some Hindu usages and customs. The caste system, for instance, exists among them. The Brahmin or the Rajput Catholics do not generally intermarry with converts from other castes. The caste system is prevalent even among the priests. Gilberto Freyre, a noted Brazilian sociologist who visited Goa at the invitation of the Portuguese government, was amazed to find that the spirit of castism still survived inside Christianity itself. Even in the churches Catholics of Brahmin origin remain strictly apart from Catholics belonging to castes considered "inferior." He noted that the clergy seem to have adapted themselves to the situation.

Goa and other Portuguese enclaves continued to be economically backward for centuries in spite of large deposits of iron and manganese ore, aluminum, cobalt, and nickel. The Portuguese displayed little interest in the mining industry; the extraction of iron and manganese ores in Goa was conducted largely by the Japanese, West Germans, and Italians. Until 1947, Goa did not export any ore, but with the investment of foreign capital and with mechanization of production, iron ore production rose from 3 million tons in 1957 to 4.7 million in 1960. During the same period, 56,000 tons of ferromanganese ore were extracted and exported by the Japanese and West Germans. Japan imports 40 percent of the iron ores produced in Goa; the United States is the most important buyer of Goan manganese ore.

The total ore exports stood at 160 million rupees in 1960. In 1961, at the time of liberation, the capital investment in industry was roughly estimated at 70 million rupees, of which three-fourths was Indian and the rest foreign.

Because of its beautiful beaches, Goa is becoming popular as a vacation resort. Many large foreign and Indian companies are constructing luxury hotels on the seashore. In recent years, it has also become a haven for many young travellers from all parts of the world.

JAMSHEDPUR

Jamshedpur is a carefully planned industrial city in the western part of the state of Bihar. It now has a population of about 456,000; when it was founded in 1908, there were only a few inhabitants in the area. A reporter from the London Times who visited the new city in 1911 remarked that it was "a model for all great industrial enterprises, not only in India, but in any part of the world." What impressed him, in contrast to the industrial cities he had seen elsewhere, were the wide streets, the well-built houses, the provisions for sport and recreation, the schools, the hospitals, the general sense of a town built for industry yet, while fulfilling that purpose, providing at the same time a humane and civilized existence for the workers in the great factories that had been built in a wilderness.

The founding of the city was the work of India's first great modern industrialist, Sir Jamsetji Tata (1839-1904) and his family. At the end of the 19th century, Tata, who had made a great fortune in the manufacture of textiles, became convinced that instead of importing all its steel from England and other countries, India should have a steel industry of its own. Although he was told that India lacked the resources for making steel, he travelled to Europe and the United States, visiting the great steel plants and talking with industrialists. He was especially impressed with Pittsburgh, where he secured the services of technical experts to help him in his plans. After his death in 1904, his sons continued his dream. Unable to

raise capital in England, they decided to appeal to the people of India. At this time, the nationalist movement was well-established, and the Tatas' argument that India should have its own steel plant, rather than being dependent upon foreign countries, met with an eager response. A contemporary account tells how the Tata offices were beseiged by investors. "Old and young, rich and poor, men and women, they came offering their mites; and at the end of three weeks, the entire capital required for the construction...was secured, every penny contributed by some 8,000 Indians." (Harris, "Jamsetji Nusserwaniji Tata; A Chronicle of His Life," p. 190.)

By 1908, the site for the steel plant was selected - the village of Sakchi in the jungles and hills of eastern Bihar. A number of factors decided the location of the site. The general area was determined by its proximity to iron ore and coal fields that were to supply the raw materials for the manufacture of steel. An adequate supply of water was assured both the town and the plants by a nearby river. The fact that the area was uninhabited meant that the Tatas could get large areas of land and start their planning without having to take into consideration existing structures. It was also near the railway that would take the steel to the great port of Calcutta, 152 miles away. Finally, there was an ample supply of unskilled labor from the tribal peoples who lived in the surrounding area.

Not only were the great steel plants themselves planned with great care by the experts the Tatas brought from the United States and elsewhere, but experts, including such famous sociologists as Sydney and Beatrice Webb, were also appointed to make suggestions for the

welfare of the workers. The result was a planned city - not just in terms of the physical layout, but also in terms of social services. It was a "company town" in that everything - the roads, the schools, the houses, the stores - was owned by the Tata Iron and Steel Company, but almost all observers, including labor leaders, agreed that the company provided services unmatched elsewhere in India. Administration of the city was a function of a company department, not of elected officials or of the provincial government.

At the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, the Tata steel plant was in operation, and it was able to supply much of the steel needed in India during the war years. By the end of the war, the Tata steel plants were the largest in the British Empire, and the population of the town had grown to 50,000. In 1919, its name was changed from Sakchi to Jamshedpur in honor of Sir Jamsetji. The city continued to grow with increasing demands for steel, and by 1941 it had a population of 165,000, almost all dependent upon the steel plant and associated companies. During the Second World War, the Tata Iron and Steel Company once more became of primary importance to the Indian economy. With the coming of independence in 1947, Jamshedpur took on new importance as India made plans for rapid industrialization as the basis of a better life for all its people. Through the years, the existence of the great steel plant had led the Tatas and their associated companies to start related activities in Jamshedpur and neighboring areas. These included plants for the manufacture of locomotives, steel cables, steel pipes, and in recent years, a great factory for manufacturing trucks.

Since Jamshedpur is so strictly an industrial city, built to serve the needs of heavy industry, its population and social structure are rather different from those of other Indian cities in some respects. Jamshedpur displays many of the effects of rapid urbanization. A fairly common feature in Indian industrial cities is that there are many more men than there are women. In the age group from 25-34, for example, there are 90 females for every 100 males; in the 45-54 bracket, there are only 48 females per 100 males. The explanation of this disparity is that men come into the cities in search of work and leave their wives in the villages. The trend reverses for men over 55; presumably at this point they start returning to their villages. Other figures for Jamshedpur suggest that there is both a higher birth rate and a higher death rate than for India as a whole. One explanation given for this is that while maternity care is better in the city, the stresses of urban life may make for more deaths of adults.

The literacy figures for Jamshedpur also show an important feature of urban, industrial life. The percentage of literacy for males for all of Bihar State, where Jamshedpur is located, is 30 percent; for Jamshedpur, it is 60 percent. For women the rate of literacy in Bihar as a whole is 7 percent; in Jamshedpur, it is 31 percent. Perhaps few figures show more strikingly the difference between the make-up of urban and rural populations than do these.

The languages spoken by the people of Jamshedpur also indicate another obvious difference between industrial and rural areas. In any given rural region, almost all of the people speak one language.

Jamshedpur, however, draws people from many parts of the country to work in its great plants as laborers, clerks, and executives. The following table indicates the great diversity of languages spoken by the population:

Language	Percentage of Speakers
Hindi	31
Bengali	25
Urdu	10
Oriya	9
Punjabi	8
Telugu	7
Tribal languages (about 7)	4
Tamil	2
Others (about 9)	4

This does not mean, however, that people cannot communicate with each other, for unlike in an American city, most people speak at least two languages in some fashion. Thus, 90 percent claim to know some Hindi; and 18 percent know English. Included in this English-speaking group would be all the executives, the clerical staff, most of the pupils in high schools and colleges.

Unlike most other cities in India, most of the houses of the workers are owned by the companies, with about 67 percent of the families living in these rented houses. The majority of families have about 130 square feet of space, for which the average rent is about Rs.7.75 a month, or about 4 1/2 percent of the family income. Many families, however, live in <u>bustis</u> where the houses are owned not by the companies, but by individuals. The accommodation in these houses is generally much poorer than that provided by the companies, with little attention paid to water supply or sanitation. Compared to most

Indian cities, however, Jamshedpur has very few areas that can be classified as slums.

A master plan has been made for the future growth and development of the city. While this plan envisages changes from the present pattern, basically it builds upon the existing form of the city. There are two zones, an industrial zone and a residential one, and in the future all the industrial buildings will be confined to their zone. The residential zone, again following the present pattern, but with more careful planning, will be split into 12 "neighborhood units," each with its own shopping center, playground, clinics, post office, cinema, library, and recreational hall. Each of these small "civic centers" will be within 10 minutes' walk of the houses, and it will not be necessary to cross main streets to get to them. There will also be local schools for little children, and central high schools. There are now central hospitals provided by the companies for their employees, and these are to be improved.

Indian urban labor is primarily migrant - that is, the workers have come in from rural areas, and often return to their villages. This is particularly true of Jamshedpur, where only 7 percent of the residents were born in the city. That 86 percent of the migrants are between the ages of 15 and 44 indicates that the migrants came in search of work. The reasons given for migration are unemployment and lack of land to cultivate. Only very rarely do people give lack of educational facilities or amenities as their reason for leaving the rural areas. But there is no doubt that for the rural people of the

area, Jamshedpur acts as a powerful magnet, the symbol of new opportunities and new hopes.

AHMEDABAD

Ahmedabad is almost alone among Indian cities in that its importance as a commercial and industrial center antedates the establishment of British rule in the 18th century. Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, as well as many smaller industrial cities such as Kanpur, owe their existence very largely to the political and economic changes associated with Western intrusion. They were at best tiny villages before the impact of the West created new patterns of trade and commerce. Ahmedabad, on the other hand, had been an important commercial and political center for many centuries, and its transformation into a great modern city was rooted in its own past.

Ahmedabad is strategically located in the rich agricultural area of Gujarat with easy access to both the Arabian Sea and the great internal trade routes of India.

Although there are references in Hindu and Jain literature to a city called Ashaval or Yasoval in the area, the present city of Ahmedabad was founded by the Turkish ruler, Ahmed Shah I, who made Gujarat into a kingdom independent from the Sultanate of Delhi. According to legend, while Sultan Ahmed Shah was camping on the banks of the river Sabarmati, he was astonished to notice that the rabbits on the river bank, instead of bolting away in terror, confronted his hounds in defiance. He felt that this was certainly a gifted land, and, on the advice of a Muslim saint, he laid the foundations of a new city.

Ahmedabad remained a royal capital until Gujarat was conquered by the Mughal Emperor, Akbar, in 1543. During the Mughal rule, Ahmedabad lost its position as the capital of Gujarat, but it retained its importance as one of the great centers of trade and as the chief city of Gujarat. Travellers and visitors like William Finch (1611), Nicholas Withington (1613), and Mandelso (1638) who visited Ahmedabad during this period have described it as a great and populous city where any article could be purchased. It then produced the best cotton and silk cloth, brocade, and various articles made of wood, ivory, brass, and copper. It was unsurpassed as a commercial emporium where foreign bills could be exchanged. The East India Company had acquired certain special concessions from the Mughal Emperor Jehangir. Sir Thomas Roe accompanied Jehangir during his visit to Ahmedabad when Jehangir wrote two letters to King James of England emphasizing friendly relations between the two monarchs. Jehangir is said to have spent pleasant evenings ferrying across Lake Kankaria with Nur Jehan. He also spent the first few years of his married life with his wife Mumtaz Mahal in Ahmedabad.

After the death of Aurangzib, the last great Mughal ruler, in 1707, the city suffered from the political confusion that resulted as the Mughal viceroys fought among themselves as well as with the Marathas, the Hindu group that became dominant in western India at this time. In 1753, the Maratha armies brought an end to the Mughal rule in Ahmedabad. During the following 60 years, the economic condition of Ahmedabad deteriorated as old trade routes were disrupted. To escape the heavy taxation, people moved from the suburbs and artisans

fled the city to other places where there was comparative safety and security. The oppressive levies of the Marathas completely disturbed the economy.

In 1817, Ahmedabad was finally annexed by the British East India Company. Elsewhere in India, old commercial cities decayed as a result of the new political and economic forces, but Ahmedabad survived as a great city. The strength of its commercial traditions combined with its location to transform it in the 19th century into a modern industrial city.

During the 19th century, Ahmedabad gradually recovered its importance under the leadership of an indigenous financial and mercantile elite. The people adopted modern means of production, taking advantage of advances in technology and science.

By this time, a prominent citizen, Ranchhod Lal Chotalal, had established the Ahmedabad Spinning and Manufacturing Company in Shahpur in 1859. Its machinery was brought from Cambay in bullock carts. The American Civil War and the opening of the railways gave further impetus to industry. In 1867, the second textile mill was established, followed by others. In 1920, the Calico Mill was established by Ambalal Sarabhai. The mill was a pioneer in machine production of fine cloth. Thereafter, the Sarabhai family became noted for their contributions to various fields of activity in Ahmedabad. "The textile mills brought about a great increase in the population of the city both by providing opportunities for all within it and so checking any exodus, and by attracting newcomers, workers for the mills and traders and artisans to serve the expanding popula-

tion....The areas around the mills began to look more like a vast overgrown village of mud and straw huts...." (Gillion, "Ahmedabad, a Study in Indian Urban History," pp. 103-104).

Ahmedabad survived the competition from machine-made cloth which was beginning to be made in England in the beginning of the 19th century, and which had ruined Dacca along with other traditional centers of the cotton trade. The Ahmedabad textile industry survived because the staples of Ahmedabad were not fine muslins like those of Dacca, but coarse, dyed cotton cloth which had a permanent market in India. The coarse variety could still compete favorably with the imported English cloth because of its cheapness and durability, and the demand for it.

The Swadeshi Movement started by Mahatma Gandhi combined with the economic conditions created by World War I gave remarkable impetus to the local textile industry. The restoration of imports of foreign goods after the end of the war gave rise to competition with foreign textiles, which led to the import of new machines and a tremendous improvement in the quality of textile goods manufactured in local mills.

The gradual transformation of Ahmedabad's functional character from trade and commerce to industry has come about through the growth of textile mills and mechanization of other industries. The most important industrial units registered up to 1965 include textiles, machinery, printing, wood and cork, food, metal products, basic metal industries, nonmetallic mineral products, transport equipment, chemical and chemical products. In addition, small-scale units have risen

rapidly from 600 in 1961 to 2,115 in 1966. Besides cotton textiles which are the main item of export, diesel engines, centrifugal pumps, pipes, cotton textile machinery, bobbins, and handicrafts command a good market.

Ahmedabad has special associations with the nationalist movement for independence because it was here that Gandhi made his headquarters after his return from South Africa in 1915. Gandhi chose Ahmedabad as the venue of his operations deliberately. Having been born in a traditional bania family of Gujarat, he understood the people, their customs, traditions, values, and outlook well. Tradition combined with a fair dose of modernity in Ahmedabad. The machine age had dawned in the region, yet the people's attitudes had not undergone much change. Their religious and social values, and their food habits in particular, had not changed in spite of the wealth which was to be found in abundance in most Gujarat families. A Gujarati tradesman continued to wear his dhoti, but did not disdain wearing a modern Western coat. Gandhi himself was the product of the society and age in which he lived. He remained rooted in the social milieu, although he launched a movement against what he considered some of the social evils of Hindu society such as caste, untouchability, dowry system, and the like. At the beginning of his political career, Gandhi must have felt at home at Ahmedabad, but there were more empirical reasons for his choice of Ahmedabad as the headquarters of the movement which he was destined to launch for the liberation of the country. Gandhi in his autobiography, "The Story of My Experiments with Truth," says, "I had a predilliction for Ahmedabad. Being a Gujarati I thought I should be

able to render the greatest service to the country through the Gujarati language. And then, as Ahmedabad was an ancient center of handloom weaving, it was likely to be the most favourable field for the revival of cottage industry of hand spinning. There was also the hope that the city being the capital of Gujarat, monetary help from its wealthy citizens would be more available here than elsewhere." (p.329).

The Sabarmati Ashram, or Satyagrah Ashram, was founded by Gandhi on May 25, 1915 with 25 men, women, and children in a house in Kochram, a village in Ahmedabad. Because of an outbreak of plague in the village, the Ashram was moved in 1917 to a more prominent site on the banks of the Sabarmati River. It covered an area of 150 acres. The objective of the Ashram was that its members should qualify themselves and make a constant endeavor to serve the country in a way not inconsistent with universal good. The members were to observe truth, which did not mean mere abstinence from telling or practicing untruth in ordinary relations with fellow men; truth, according to Gandhi, was God, the one and the only reality. Another cardinal principle of the Ashram was the practice of nonviolence, including the active practice of love. Mere nonkilling is not nonviolence. To achieve these ends, man must attain complete self-control. By practicing chastity, controlling the palate, nonstealing, nonpossession of property, the members could attain the above objective. Furthermore, they were to pledge themselves to the use of Indian-made goods and to the removal of untouchability. The Ashram did not believe in caste.

Numerous incidents violating these precepts in the Ashram are reported by B. R. Nanda in his admirable study, "Mahatma Gandhi, A Biography." Within a few months of the establishment of the Ashram, Gandhi was approached by a humble untouchable family with the request to be admitted to the Ashram. Gandhi readily agreed. Hearing this, the wealthy men of Ahmedabad who were supporting the Ashram were furious and decided to cut off supplies and donations. Had it not been for the timely help of Ambalal Sarabhai, the Ashram would have faced a great financial crisis. Even within the Ashram, some, including Kasturbai, Gandhi's wife, were unhappy. Kasturbai "had given in to her husband's heterodoxy in South Africa but in her native environment her prejudices about untouchability revived vigorously." (Nanda, p. 136). Gandhi, being a stern disciplinarian, asked his wife either to give up her prejudices or leave the Ashram. Finally, she accepted the untouchable family. From that time on, eradication of untouchability became an important ideal of Gandhi's movement.

The Sabarmati Ashram was Gandhi's home until 1930 when he left it for the historic Dandi march, with a vow not to return until India achieved her independence. Since 1930, the Ashram has been used mainly as a center for the education of harijan girls. After the assassination of Gandhi, the Millowners Association of Ahmedabad collected a fund which amounted to nearly 2.3 million rupees in 1959 to maintain the Ashram and to propagate Gandhi's ideals. Gandhi's own cottage in the Ashram was coverted into a museum. This museum, however, has now moved to a well-designed building with tiled roofs, brick walls, and stone floors, which was inaugurated by Jawaharlal Nehru on May 10,

1963. In his inaugural address Nehru said, "It is good that you have built here a museum, a beautiful museum. Beautiful not because somebody has put up a huge building using marble...for that is not proper. I am upset when I seen them. I very much like the way this one is built over here. Whatever little I have seen has been done with understanding." The museum has an archive consisting of nearly 30,000 letters to and from Gandhi both in the original and in photostats and 400 manuscripts of Gandhi's articles in Young India, Navjivan, and Harijan.

Ahmedabad is unique among Indian cities. Its modernization and industrialization are not related to the establishment of Western political power as in Calcutta and Bombay. It is very much an indigenous city, yet in many ways among the most modern in India.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Urbanization in General

Davis, Kingsley. "Urbanization and the Development of Pre-Industrial Areas," by Kingsley Davis and H. Golden. Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. III, No. 1 (Oct. 1954), pp. 6-26.

Dyos, Harold James, ed. The Study of Urban History. N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 1968. 400 pp.

Gutman, Robert, ed. Neighborhood, City and Metropolis; An Integrated Reader in Urban Sociology. ed. by Robert Gutman and David Popenoe. N.Y.: Random House, 1970. 942 pp.

Handlin, Oscar, ed. The Historian and the City. ed. by Oscar Handlin and John Burchard. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1963. 299 pp.

Hoselitz, Bert. "The Role of Cities in the Economic Growth of Underdeveloped Countries." Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 61 (June 1953), pp. 195-208.

Kolb, William L. "The Social Structure and Function of Cities." Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. III, No. 1 (Oct. 1954), pp. 30-46.

Redfield, Robert. "The Cultural Role of Cities," by Robert Redfield and Milton Singer. Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. III, No. 1 (Oct. 1954), pp. 53-73.

Schnore, Leo F. The Urban Scene; Human Ecology and Demography. N.Y.: The Free Press, 1965. 374 pp.

Sjoberg, Gideon. The Pre-Industrial City, Past and Present. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. 353 pp.

Urbanization in India

Ahmad, Enayat. "Origin and Evolution of the Towns of Uttar Pradesh." Geographical Outlook, Vol. 1 (1956), pp. 38-58.

Ahmad, Qazi Shakil. Indian Cities; Characteristics and Correlations. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965. 184 pp.

Bose, Ashish. "A Note on the Definition of 'Town' in the Indian Census: 1901-1961." Indian Economic and Social History Review,

Vol. 1 (Jan. 1964), pp. 84-94.

_____. "Six Decades of Urbanization in India, 1901-1961." Indian Economic and Social History Review, Vol. 2 (Jan. 1965), pp. 23-41.

_____. Urbanization in India; An Inventory of Source Materials. Bombay: Academic Books Limited, 1970. 389 pp.

Breese, Gerald. "Urban Development Problems in India." Annals, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 53, No. 3 (September 1963), pp. 253-265.

Brush, John E. "Spatial Patterns of Population in Indian Cities." The Geographical Review, Vol. 58, No. 3 (July 1968), pp. 362-391.

Bulsara, Jal F. Problems of Rapid Urbanisation in India. Bombay: Popular Prakasan, 1964. 215 pp.

Crane, Robert I. "Urbanism in India." American Journal of Sociology, (March 1955), pp. 463-470.

Davis, Kingsley. The Population of India and Pakistan. N.Y.: Russell & Russell, 1968 (orig. pub. by Princeton University Press, 1951). 263 pp.

Fox, Richard, ed. Urban India; Society, Space and Image. Durham, N.C.: Program in Comparative Studies on Southern Asia, 1970. 245 pp.

Koenigsberger, Otto H. "New Towns in India." The Town Planning Review, Vol. 23, No. 2 (July 1952), pp. 95-131.

Lall, Amrit and Ranjit Tirtha. "India's Urbanization." Focus, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (September 1968), pp. 1-7.

Murphey, Rhoads. "Cities and Countryside as Ideological Issues: India and China." Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol. 14, No. 3 (June 1972), pp. 250-267.

Naqvi, H. K. Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, 1556-1803. London: Asia Publishing House, 1968. 325 pp.

Nilsson, Sten Ake. European Architecture in India, 1750-1850. N.Y.: Taplinger, 1968. 214 pp.

Park, Richard L., ed. Urban Bengal. East Lansing: Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1969. 123 pp.

Seminar on Urbanization in India, Berkeley, Calif., 1960. India's Urban Future, Selected Studies from an International Conference, Sponsored by Kingsley Davis, Richard L. Park, and Catherine Bauer Wurster. ed. by Roy Turner. Berkeley: University of California

Press, 1962. 470 pp.

Sovani, N. V. Urbanization and Urban India. N.Y.: Asia Publishing House, 1966. 160 pp.

Scholberg, Henry. The District Gazetteers of British India: A Bibliography. Zug: Inter Documentation, 1970. 131 pp. (An account of a major source of material on Indian cities, this bibliography gives full reference to the District Gazetters, many of which were used in preparing the materials for this unit).

Smailes, A. E. "The Indian City, A Descriptive Model." Geographisches Zeitschrift, Vol. 57, Part 3 (September 1969), pp. 177-190.

Spate, Oskar Hermann Khristian. "Five Cities of the Gangetic Plain, a Cross-Section of Indian Cultural History," by O. H. K. Spate and Enayat Ahmad. Geographical Review, Vol. 40 (April 1950), pp. 260-278).

Toy, Sidney. The Fortified Cities of India. London: Heinemann, 1965. 118 pp.

_____. The Strongholds of India. London: Heinemann, 1957. 136 pp.

Tyrwhitt, Jacqueline, ed. Patrick Geddes in India. London: Lund Humphries, 1947. 103 pp.

Indian Cities

Jaisalmer

Tod, James. Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han. London: Oxford University Press, 1920 (orig. pub. in 1829-32). 3 vols.

Fatehpur Sikri

Hambly, Gavin. Cities of Mughal India: Delhi, Agra, and Fatehpur Sikri. N.Y.: Putnam, 1968. 168 pp.

Husain, A. B. M. Fathpur-Sikri and Its Architecture. Dacca: Bureau of National Reconstruction, 1970. 169 pp.

Chandigarh

Bagele, L. R. "A Case Study of Chandigarh and its Growth Potential." Ekistics, Vol. 23, No. 135 (February 1967), pp. 98-195.

Brolin, Brent C. "Chandigarh Was Planned by Experts, But Something Has Gone Wrong." Smithsonian, Vol. 3, No. 3 (June 1972), pp. 56-62.

D'Souza, Victor. Social Structure of a Planned City: Chandigarh. New Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1968. 408 pp.

Evenson, Norma. Chandigarh. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966. 116 pp.

Jacobs, Allan B. "Observations on Chandigarh." Journal of the American Institute of Planners, Vol. 33, No. 1 (January 1967), pp. 18-26.

Gwalior

Brown, Michael H., ed. Gwalior Today. Bombay: Times of India Press, 1940. 250 pp.

Bombay

Furber, Holden. Bombay Presidency in the Mid-Eighteenth Century. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, dist. by Taplinger, 1965. 76 pp.

Koul, Kasimir K. Poona and Bombay by the Sea. New Delhi: 1967. 110 pp.

Morris, Morris David. The Emergence of an Industrial Labor Force in India: A Study of the Bombay Cotton Mills, 1854-1947. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965. 263 pp.

Rajagopalan, C. "Bombay: A Study in Urban Demography and Ecology." Sociological Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 1 (March 1960), pp. 16-38.

Zachariah, K. C. "Bombay Migration Study: A Pilot Analysis of Migration to an Asian Metropolis." Demography, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1966), pp. 378-392.

_____. Migrants in Greater Bombay. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1968. 355 pp.

Goa

Danvers, Frederick Charles. The Portuguese in India: Being a History of the Rise and Decline of Their Eastern Empire. N.Y.: Octagon, 1966 (orig. pub. by Allen & Unwin, 1894). 2 vols.

Priolkar, Anant Kakba. Goa Re-discovered. Bombay: Bhatkal Books, 1967. 137 pp.

Jamshedpur

Harris, Frank Reginald. Jamsetji Nusserwaniji Tata: A Chronicle of His Life. 2d ed. Bombay: Blackie & Sons, dist. by Lawrence Verry, 1958 (orig. pub. by Milford, 1925). 339 pp.

Misra, Babu Ram. Report on a Socio-Economic Survey of Jamshedpur City. Patna: Patna University Press, 1959. 134 pp.

Ahmedabad

Erikson, Erik. Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Non-Violence. N.Y.: Norton, 1969. 474 pp.

Gillion, Kenneth Lowell Oliver. Ahmedabad, a Study in Indian Urban History. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969. 135 pp.

1971 Census Data

City *	Total Population	Sex M	Sex F	Literacy Percent	Total Workers	Percent of Total Population
Ahmedabad (MC)	1,588,378	866,233	722,145	58.96%	425,520	26.79%
Bombay (UA)	5,968,546	3,477,000	2,491,546	64.03	2,186,156	36.63
Chandigarh (UA)	233,004	132,790	100,214	64.59	77,385	33.21
Fatehpur Sikri	13,997					
Gwalior (UA)	406,755	220,783	185,972	48.24	106,911	26.28
Jaisalmer (M)	16,588					
Jamshedpur (UA)	465,200	258,281	206,919	54.83	133,241	28.63
Kanchipuram (M)	110,505	56,184	54,184	55.58	34,319	31.06
Simla (M)	55,326					
Goa (UA)	59,149					

(M) : Municipality
(MC) : Municipal Corporation
(UA) : Urban Agglomeration

* Less data are available for towns of less than 100,000 population

Data from: India (Rep.), Office of Registrar General, "Provisional Population Totals," New Delhi, 1971, 30 vols. in 7. 1-F-70-927918.

SCENE IDENTIFICATIONS

KANCHIPURAM

Main street; traffic; temple gates in background

Busy streets; traffic; temples in midst

Markets

Temple roof; modern tile roofs and houses

Details of temple gates

Pool of temple; people washing clothes

Outskirts of town; people washing clothes and bathing in river

Temple; clothes drying on fence

Washing and drying threads for weaving

Carrying wound spindles of thread into town

City streets; weavers' signs

Weavers co-op; men weaving and spinning cloth

Weaving sari on roof

Completed red saris

Tourists visiting temples; details

Street scene; temple in background

Three temples from countryside

JAISALMER Film 1

Ruins; outposts in desert

Water basins; with ruins

Man loading camel bags with water

Women scooping water

Exterior of the fort; battlements, desert in foreground

Fortress walls

City and desert

Roads leading to city

Gate to city; traffic; bus, people; camel

Inside city walls; buildings; details

Narrow streets; people

Details; buildings; sculptured window; doors

Narrow streets

Camel through gate

Outer walls of city; desert

JAISALMER Film 2

Gate to city

Tall buildings; narrow street

View from narrow street to sky

Man walking past narrow street

Ornate building

Woman walking past house

Detail of window on house

Surrounding desert as seen from inside of window

Detail; mirror surface decorating window from inside

Detail; paintings on wall and mirrored archway

Detail; paintings on wall

Battlements and roofs as seen from doorway

Detail; tile wall and arches

Window

Carving below window

Views through arches; courtyard

Street scenes; homes

Detail; windows and doors

View of desert from roof

Maharajah's Palace grounds; walls, detail, outer buildings

Maharajah's seat

Palace yard area

Water hole area; surrounding area

Silhouette of birds on gateway at sunset

Palace at sunset

FATEHPUR SIKRI

Gate No. 1

Gate No. 2

Gate No. 3

Gate No. 4

Gate No. 5

Umbrella tower on wall; Buland Darwaza

Detail; inscription on Buland Darwaza

Hospital grounds

Buildings and courtyards

Pool and platform

Court buildings

Apartments

Detail; palace buildings

Astrologers' and scribes' buildings

Detail; buildings and people

Second courtyard; gates, walls

Courtyard; tomb of Salim Chisti

Details of tomb; reflecting pool

Courtyard and high shot of surrounding area

CHANDIGARH

Views of modern streets and buildings

Traffic; people shopping

Higher income housing

Views of city

Secretariat Building

Assembly Building

Details of Assembly and Secretariat Buildings

Reflecting pool; buildings

High Court

University area; Administration Building and others

Students; area with buildings

Gandhi Bhawan

Buildings and street traffic

Art Museum and art works

Street scenes

Vegetable market; people, produce, animals

Rowboat on lake; lake with boats, hills surrounding

Area; Secretariat Building in foreground

GWALIOR

New palace; details and pool

Main city square; traffic, buses and bicycles, etc.

Medieval city towering over modern city

Fort from below

Entrances to medieval city

Man Mandir; details of decoration

Views of surrounding area from medieval city

Modern street market; temple in background

People shopping; pottery display

Pottery works; pottery

Street scene; traffic, markets

Railroad station

Train yards

Trains, medieval buildings in distance

BOMBAY

Modern waterfront; skyscrapers

Boats in harbor

Taj Mahal Hotel

Prince of Wales Museum; street scene; traffic

Temple

City buildings; traffic

Details of city buildings; ironwork

English style church

19th century city buildings

Housing; crowded streets

Bazaar

Traffic; streets

Modern park; modern buildings

Workers on modern buildings; carrying and hauling by hand

New buildings

Movie posters; movie crew and cast making film

Train speeds past city; sunset

Busy intersection; train in background

River; sunset; city in background

SIMLA

Snow-capped mountains

Mountains; city nestled among them

Natural setting; housing on slopes

City on slopes; buildings, shot of church on Mall

Church on Mall and Tudor building next to it

People walking on Mall

Gaity Theatre; Post Office

Government building

Viceregal Lodge

Indian schoolgirls at school

Terraced walks, going down to business district

Bazaar on busy street

Crowded housing on sloping streets

Bus depot; crowds; traffic

Potato market depot

Bus traveling; sheep; mules; countryside

Bus to resort areas

Wooded walks; resorts; flowers; views

View of Simla

GOA

City from boat on water; under bridge

Small boat in water; bridge in background

Small boat loaded with people; in harbor

Harbor; docks

Harbor scenes and buildings; ore boat

City; roofs and water in background

Street scenes; markets; people

Houses; details

Churches; in town and surrounding countryside

Washing clothes in Church of the Bom Jesus pool

Tower and palms

Boat going past palm shore

Churches and monasteries from boat

Houses on the river from boat

Hotel at beach

Beach and surf; people

JAMSHEDPUR

Steel mill shots; furnaces; chimneys; trains

Big smoking steel works

Steel mill from across the river

Rose Garden Lake and Jubilee Park; flowers, trees, statue of Tata

City streets; apartments; houses

Schools

Map of streets; street scene, housing area

Well Baby Clinic; town dispensary

Workers' houses

Tayo plant; auto factory; building company

Telco Company main gate

Workers going home

Group playing cricket

Town and outskirts

Kharkai and Subarna Rekha rivers; red soil

Steel mill

View of city

AHMEDABAD

Painted building in city

Street scene; details of buildings

Painted figures on buildings

Street scene; gate, bazaar

Railroad station

Train yards; stacks of mills in background

Shots of mill stacks over city and parks

Lake Kankaria; people collecting reeds; stacks in background

Jain temple; people praying

Minarets over park

Temple; birds

Renovated Jain temple; details; walking through corridors; exterior

Mill Owners' Association Building by Le Corbusier

Gandhi Ashram

Dying and drying cloth in low river

People and animals; cloth drying

Saris being carted and dried

Street scene; city; mills in background